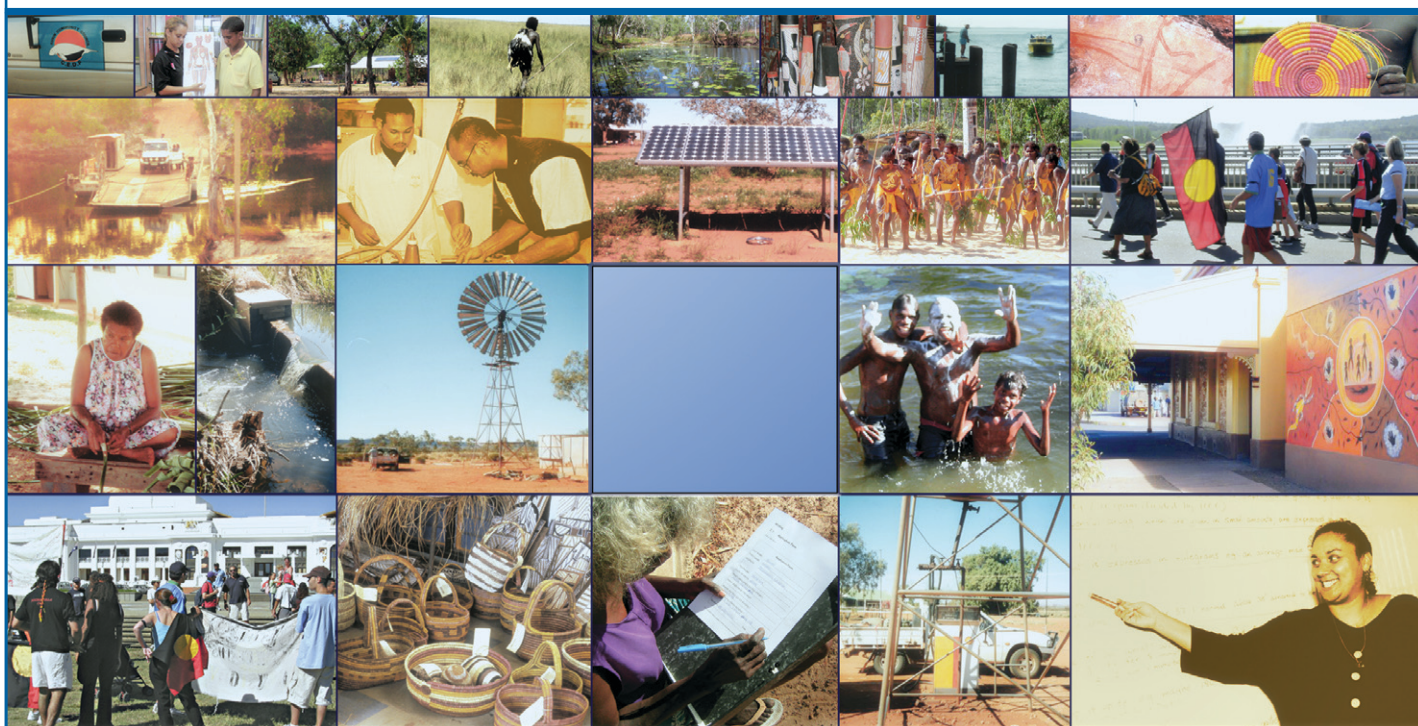


Indigenous Temporary Mobilities and Service Delivery in Regional Service Centres: A West Kimberley Case Study

S. Prout and M. Yap

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March 2010



Ministerial Council for Aboriginal
and Torres Strait Islander Affairs



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ABSTRACT

Indigenous Australians have often been described as highly mobile people—particularly in historical and remote 'wilderness' contexts. The literature paints a picture of regular, short-term population movement within and between desert, hinterland, and tropic regions of Australia, with significant implications for targeting and delivering a range of health, housing, and education services in these regions. To date though, very little research has examined the nature of Indigenous temporary mobility in and through urban environments. Scant scholarly consideration has been given to how cities and large regional centres feature in the mobility networks of Indigenous peoples. This paper examines the relationship between Indigenous temporary mobility and service delivery in the town of Broome, Western Australia. It explores various kinds of data—both qualitative and quantitative—that can be drawn upon to better characterise, explain and engage with Indigenous temporary mobilities through regional centres such as Broome. In particular, it focuses on experience in the formal primary school sector as a window onto the relationship between temporary mobility and service delivery in the town.

Administrative education data generally supported the existing local narratives: that most Indigenous temporary movement through Broome is the product of service-related in- and out-moves amongst Indigenous people whose primary connections lie outside the town; and that Indigenous Broome locals were generally less mobile than many Indigenous groups in other parts of the Kimberley. While these administrative data are limited in their capacity to render statistically visible the full spectrum of temporary population dynamics, they can be used to develop a clearer picture of the frequency, duration, direction and scale of temporary movement through regional centres. Because these locales play a particularly critical role in shaping Indigenous mobility practices and networks across the settlement hierarchy, there is a strong imperative for policy makers and service providers to utilise all available data to more effectively define and cater to the actual service populations associated with them. These are necessary steps to improving service delivery to highly mobile Indigenous people in not just in urban environments, but in the often expansive service catchment areas that surround them.

Keywords: Indigenous, temporary mobility, schooling, Broome, urban, service delivery.

CAEPR INDIGENOUS POPULATION PROJECT

This project has its genesis in a CAEPR report commissioned by the Ministerial Council for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs (MCATSIA) in 2005. The aim of the paper (published as CAEPR Discussion Paper No. 283) was to synthesise findings from a wide variety of regional and community-based demographic studies. What emerged was the identification of demographic 'hot spots'—particular Indigenous population dynamics in particular regions that give rise to issues of public policy concern. These trends spatially align with specific categories of place that transcend State and Territory boundaries. The 'hot spots' coalesce around several structural settings including city suburbs, regional towns, town camps, remote Indigenous towns, and outstations, as opposed to the more formal regionalised or jurisdictional spatial configurations that have tended to guide and inform Indigenous policy development.

Recognising that the structural circumstances facing Indigenous populations are locationally dispersed in this way, MCATSIA has established an enhanced research capacity at CAEPR to further explore the dynamics and regional geography of Indigenous population and socioeconomic change.

This research activity commenced in late 2007 and is constructed around four discrete yet overlapping projects:

- a detailed regional analysis of relative and absolute change in Indigenous social indicators
- an assessment of social and spatial mobility among Indigenous metropolitan populations
- case-study analyses of multiple disadvantage in select city neighbourhoods and regional centres
- the development of conceptual and methodological approaches to the measurement of temporary short-term mobility.

Working Papers related to these projects are co-badged with MCATSIA and released as part of the CAEPR Working Paper Series. It should be noted that the views expressed in these publications are those of the researcher/s and do not necessarily represent the views of MCATSIA as a whole, or the views of individual jurisdictions.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Indigenous relationships to urban environments, and particularly to large regional centres, are complex and multifaceted. Regional towns often develop around, and attract, a substantial Indigenous population. As major service centres, they also play a pivotal role in the mobility circuits of many Indigenous people whose primary connections lie elsewhere in smaller communities. To effectively allocate resources and deliver services, there is, therefore, an imperative to define the catchment areas of regional centres and develop options for measuring the scale and composition of Indigenous temporary population flows associated with them. This paper presents findings from a recent study of Indigenous temporary mobility through the town of Broome, Western Australia, to develop a clearer picture of these dynamics. In particular, it focuses on experience in the formal school sector as a window into the relationship between temporary mobility and service delivery in the town. The paper is divided into three distinct but related sections: study background, case study findings and policy implications.

STUDY BACKGROUND

The town of Broome—the western gateway to Western Australia's Kimberley region—has experienced a number of economic and demographic shifts since it was first established in 1883 as a port for the burgeoning pearling industry. Today, Indigenous people comprise 25 per cent of the town's population. The expanding tourism industry in the town, and the seasonal service industry that supports it, has led to rapid non-Indigenous population growth, and generates a significant amount of non-Indigenous temporary mobility through Broome. In contrast to Indigenous movement through Broome, this non-Indigenous mobility is absorbed relatively comfortably in the town, since it generally stimulates and/or responds to market forces.

The study employed a mixed-method approach, which combined 52 interviews with service providers in the region with an analysis of administrative data, particularly education enrolment and attendance data, from five primary schools in the Shire of Broome.

THE CASE STUDY

Interview data indicated that while there was a considerable amount of Indigenous temporary mobility through Broome, most of it was the product of in- and out-visits from non-residents. The Indigenous population in Broome was described as relatively immobile compared to those in other parts of the region, particularly the Fitzroy Valley. Two parallel explanations for this dynamic emerged. Firstly, there has always been a relatively permanent Indigenous presence in the area. In other words, local Indigenous 'immobility' is an enduring feature of customary Indigenous demography in the area. Secondly, given the nature of hub-and-spoke service delivery models, most recreational, retail and social services are concentrated in large towns like Broome. Local residents have ready access to them, while those in more sparsely populated parts of the region must travel more frequently to access them.

Qualitative findings specific to the relationship between Indigenous mobility and schooling in Broome supported this broad narrative of movement through the town being generated largely by visitors whose primary connections lie elsewhere. Interviewees described a school-aged Indigenous population coming in and out of Broome who never engage with the formal school system, and are thus largely invisible to it. They also explained that of the Indigenous student population that does attend school in Broome, only a small proportion is highly mobile.

An analysis of existing school administrative data brought a comparative sense of shape and scale to these broad narratives of Indigenous student mobility through Broome. Enrolment data generated useful insights about the high volume of student turnover through schools, and the direction, scale, and volume of student moves. When individual student records were reconciled across schools, important insights also emerged regarding what proportion of Indigenous non-attendance might be the product of truancy (i.e. home- and school-based factors that result in non-attendance), and what proportion could be attributable to student temporary movements elsewhere.

In Western Australia, schools are allocated resources on the basis of enrolment censuses in the early and middle part of the year, assuming relative population stasis in the interim. The data indicated that this was not so in the case study schools. It demonstrated that net change over the course of the school year was often low, but masked significant flows of students coming and going throughout the school year. In their study of British student mobility, Dobson, Henthorne and Lynas (2000) concluded that a turnover rate of 20–30 per cent should be considered high, and a turnover rate of greater than 30 per cent should be considered very high. In 2008, Indigenous turnover rates in the two Broome primary schools were 77 and 68 per cent respectively, and the rates in the two smaller community schools in other parts of the Shire of Broome were 152 and 87 per cent. Notably, non-Indigenous rates at the two Broome schools were also extremely high (50% and 62%), though still considerably lower than Indigenous rates. This turnover was spread amongst a greater proportion of Indigenous students in the schools in the Shire of Broome region than those schools within Broome itself.

The moves on which these turnover rates are based are not necessarily indicative of temporary mobility. In fact, the data showed that in Broome, significant numbers of moves represented relocations from one Broome school to another. In terms of moves out of Broome, Indigenous students were more likely than non-Indigenous students to move to other Kimberley communities, or large regional centres. However, it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions about the scale and direction of these moves because data regarding source and destination schools were patchy at all schools.

The data analysis also indicated that many temporary moves amongst Indigenous students were not captured in the enrolments database. Because they were often less than three weeks in duration, they simply appeared as extended periods of unexplained absence on class rolls. While only a small proportion of Indigenous students engage in such movements, their sustained periods of unexplained absences can have a marked effect on reported attendance rates.

Reported findings suggest that Indigenous non-attendance in Broome is more commonly a product of home and school factors, rather than student transiency. When individual attendance records are reconciled across schools, it is possible to measure how much 'unexplained absence' at a given school can be explained by attendance at another school. This provides some indication of the proportion of non-attendance that is attributable to student transiency. In 2008, the combined attendance rate for Indigenous students at all five case study schools was 74.1 per cent. After reconciling individual student attendance records across the five schools to adjust for duplicates, the attendance rate increased to 74.4 per cent. This change seems small. However, the records were reconciled over only a handful of schools. If all schools in the region, or across the public, independent and Catholic sectors were included in the analysis, more duplicates would likely be discovered, and the difference would be significantly greater.

Such data will never fully capture all Indigenous student movement, however, because when they move, they do not always (or necessarily even often) enrol at a school in their destination location. Further, administrative education data are unable to capture or characterise the movements of Indigenous school-aged children who come in and out of Broome on a regular basis but never, or rarely, engage with the formal school sector. Interviewees identified several factors that generate this situation amongst the Indigenous population more broadly. They are categorised in this paper as sociocultural and structural factors.

Family is a key sociocultural factor that draws people temporarily to Broome, and can equally push them back out again to smaller home communities. The dynamics of courtship, visiting sick family members who are receiving treatment or giving birth at the Broome hospital, escaping domestic violence or community feuds, and maintaining positive family links all generate temporary movement into Broome from surrounding communities. Other sociocultural factors include funeral attendance, ceremonial business, football matches and other sporting carnivals, and music, arts and cultural festivals.

A range of structural factors also influence temporary Indigenous mobility through Broome. These include the availability of retail and medical services, judicial procedures, income sources and housing pressures. Indigenous people from surrounding areas regularly visit Broome for short periods to shop and/or access grog. The Broome Sober-Up Shelter has begun collecting useful administrative data on client admissions which shows an expansive service catchment area, with clients arriving from right across the Kimberley, other regions of Western Australia, and in fewer numbers, from other States and Territories altogether. In 2008, the greatest number of clients came from Fitzroy Crossing (205), followed by Balgo (115) and Bidadanga (115). Shelter data also indicated a general peak in client admissions to the service during the dry season months.

Indigenous people also come to Broome on a temporary basis specifically to access health services, and in particular, dialysis treatment. Over half of the dialysis patients in Broome are from outside the town, and family members from home communities frequently come to Broome to visit them. Similarly, many Indigenous people come to Broome temporarily to visit one or more of the 140–150 Indigenous relatives incarcerated at the regional prison. Overcrowded housing is also both a product and cause of temporary movement. Local housing pressures and the lack of affordable temporary accommodation options for Indigenous visitors to Broome mean that many who come to the town stay with family or friends. When the resulting crowded conditions in the home lead to internal conflict or external reprimand, visitors or residents may leave Broome to simply return home, alleviate the pressures, or allow the conflict to dissolve.

Critically in terms of service delivery, temporary mobility amongst Indigenous families can also be a method of avoiding outside interference or perceived surveillance, particularly from government agencies. Families can be hostile to, or fearful of, such intervention. So they move frequently to avoid it. Such movement evidences the alienated experiences of many Indigenous people within the mainstream service sector and presents a fundamental challenge to service agencies that will not be easily or expediently resolved.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

A number of sector-specific strategies have been developed in Broome to respond to the complex and interweaving nature of these Indigenous temporary mobility practices. Others were imagined by interviewees in response to questions about potential 'best practice' models of delivering education to highly mobile Indigenous children. These included community development approaches where schools foster a deeper engagement with local Indigenous parents through regular, positive communication and home visits, and visible support of local Indigenous events. These approaches, it was argued, are important starting points for meaningful dialogues with Indigenous parents about temporary mobility and its relationship to formal schooling.

The Kimberley District Education Office has developed two programs that closely relate to this model of community development and have implications for how schools engage with Indigenous student transiency. The School-Based Attendance Officer (SBAO) Program employs an Indigenous attendance officer who works to better engage Indigenous families in the formal school system, and provides strategic advice to schools about how they can more effectively adapt to changing student residency patterns. The

SBAO:
School-Based
Attendance Officer
(Program)

complimentary Community Capacity Building Program seeks to equip Indigenous staff with an expanding skill set from which to build and manage meaningful relationships between the school and the community. Both are long-term programs that require sustained support to see improved outcomes for Indigenous students.

In addition to these community development initiatives, a number of educators also proposed a type of reception class in schools for new students, or those who come and go regularly. Such a class would allow students who are arriving from smaller communities to slowly acclimatise to their new school environments and codes in a non-threatening way.

While these initiatives and proposals have merit, the reality at the school site is often not conducive to significant restructuring to better respond to the needs of highly mobile Indigenous students. While administrators may know that specific engagement strategies are essential for working with highly mobile students, they often feel too under-resourced to carry them forward. They also face administrative tensions regarding how to structure their program delivery for mobile students. On the one hand, streamlining programs across schools supports transient families by making transitions between schools more seamless. On the other hand, making school programs more locally relevant increases their attractiveness to disengaged students. These approaches are in some ways oppositional. One takes a regional approach to engaging with mobility, while the other is rooted in discrete place-based approaches. Education departments and districts need to carefully consider which approach they wish to adopt and then provide local schools with the sustained support they require to cultivate positive results.

In addition to these sector-specific approaches, interviews also indicated that better cross-sectoral planning and coordination was essential to improving service delivery to highly mobile Indigenous people. Though hub-and-spoke service delivery models clearly structure much movement into and through Broome, there is at present a lack of effective planning and coordination across sectors in relation to forecasting the impact of service structuring on Indigenous temporary mobility practices.

Interviewees advocated monthly interagency meetings, specifically including Indigenous staff, to pool knowledge about what activities, services or events might currently, or in the future, draw Indigenous people temporarily to Broome, and how agencies can work together to best meet the needs of these visitors. Such an approach has the potential to overcome short-sighted and siloed initiatives that overlook potential demographic implications, or that simply relocate problems.

INTRODUCTION

It's midday in the 'city of the Kimberley' and two young Aboriginal boys are shifting across Carol's line of sight through her office window at the youth centre. It's the fourth day she's noticed them there, but she doesn't recognise them as local kids—they must be from out of town. She heads out for a yarn with them. After circuitous introductions she casually prods them about why they aren't at school. 'We're only here for a few days. Just in town for that funeral. Besides, we don't go to school here anyway. We'll be home soon.' For the next few days the boys return and Carol allows them to come in from the heat and hang out. A few days turn into a couple of weeks and eventually, Carol tells the boys that if they're going to be staying in town, they need to go to school. They're welcome back at the youth service after hours, but not during school time. The boys insist they'll be getting a lift back to their community any day now. But for many mornings, they hang around, darting intermittently across the dusty verge of the youth centre. And as mid-afternoon approaches and the school day ends, they race inside to play. This pattern continues for a couple of months until one day, they're gone. Presumably on their way home (Fictionalised vignette by the authors based a collection of like stories relayed during local interviews in Broome, 2009).

Indigenous relationships to urban environments, and particularly to large regional centres, are complex and multifaceted. Demographically, regional towns often develop around, and attract, a substantial Indigenous population (Biddle 2009; Taylor 2006). As major service centres, these locales also play a pivotal role in the mobility circuits of many Indigenous people, whose primary connections lie elsewhere in smaller communities where there is access to only a limited range of retail, health, education and recreational services.

The fictionalised vignette above is an amalgam of several interactions recounted by Broome service providers during recent fieldwork there. It speaks to the sense of detachment that often characterises Indigenous visits to regional centres; detachment not only from the physical locale but also from the mainstream government services (in this case formal schooling) established there. And yet it is simultaneously a sense of connection that draws Indigenous people to such places; connections to family, and a need or desire to access the broader range of services that are available to them there. Understanding these connections and disconnections, and the temporary movement they generate, is crucial to the effective structuring and delivery of basic services and infrastructure to Indigenous peoples in large regional centres and the more sparsely settled hinterlands that are so often socioeconomically interwoven with them.

To date though, very little research has examined the nature of Indigenous temporary mobility through these places. Memmott, Long and Thompson's (2006) exploration of Indigenous mobility through Mt Isa and two of its hinterland communities in Queensland and the Northern Territory is one of the only, and certainly most substantive, contributions. As they explain, the existing 'information vacuum' (Taylor 2006: 23) is, in part at least, the product of limited existing datasets on which to draw, and the arduous nature of developing useful new ones. Statistical data such as those derived from the census are either incapable of capturing the dynamic flows of such movement (e.g. Biddle & Prout forthcoming) or, until recently in the case of much administrative data, largely patchy and/or inaccessible. Qualitative or descriptive data, on the other hand, are often more detailed and explanatory, but require considerable time to generate and are less amenable to direct policy application. So while there is a clear imperative for improving our understanding of Indigenous temporary mobility through large regional centres, these efforts are hampered by methodological and conceptual constraints (Prout 2009).

temporary mobility:

Non-permanent, inter-locale travels or visits that are between several days and several months in duration. The exact duration is contingent upon the reason for travel and the circumstances that unfold at the destination location(s).

This paper draws on findings from a recent study of Indigenous temporary population mobility through the town of Broome in Western Australia to build upon Memmott, Long and Thompson's (2006) work in beginning to address these two parallel questions:

1. What data might be drawn upon to better characterise, explain, and engage with Indigenous temporary mobilities in, and through, regional centres?
2. What do these data say about the nature of such movement, and the characteristics of those who engage in it?

Where Memmott, Long and Thompson's (2006) analysis centred on a comprehensive household survey methodology to explore Indigenous temporary movements and connections to Mt Isa, this study employs an alternative approach. It draws on innovative proxy measures developed from administrative data sources and a series of interviews with local service providers in the West Kimberley to develop a more holistic and detailed picture of the dynamics of Indigenous temporary mobility through Broome. The rationale for examining administrative data rather than conducting a survey was twofold. First, unlike surveys which must be carefully designed, tested, and administered before any data are produced, administrative data are automatically generated by various services as a matter of course. These data can therefore be much more efficiently and broadly enhanced and employed to measure aspects of Indigenous temporary mobility. Second, administrative data can open windows onto the mobility or immobility of a particular 'service population' that may be distinct from, or a proxy of, the broader population.

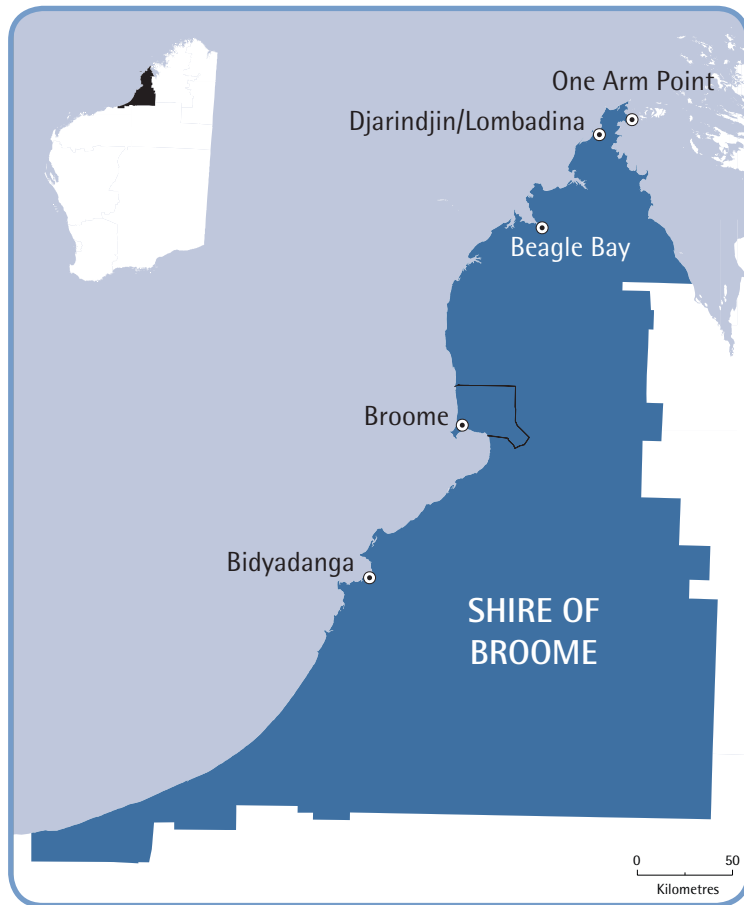
This paper, for example, demonstrates that student administrative data from primary schools in the region can be analysed in ways that enable it to illuminate some of the broader realities of Indigenous residency and mobility choices in the West Kimberley. By combining this statistical analysis with qualitative data from interviews, the paper also demonstrates that there are limitations to how much of Indigenous temporary mobility can be captured and explained by any one set of administrative data. Nevertheless, the capabilities of such data reach far beyond their current use.

The paper is divided into three related but distinct parts. The first section provides a contextual overview of Broome's changing economy and demography through time, and summarises the exploratory methodology adopted for this study. The second section presents the findings from the Broome case study. It begins by outlining the key local discourses about Indigenous temporary mobility through Broome. Using education data as a window into understanding these dynamics, the paper presents a detailed analysis of administrative data from five primary schools that paint a more detailed, yet complimentary picture of Indigenous movement through Broome and the immediate surrounding region. Having established that certain movements remain elusive to statistical capture using schools data and invisible to many service providers, the discussion then draws on other administrative data sources and qualitative research findings to describe the broader context of such movement through the town. Continuing with the example of schooling and its relationship to Indigenous temporary mobility, the final section evaluates existing and proposed best practice methods for engaging with highly mobile families in the formal school sector. It concludes by considering the wider implications for data collection and service delivery practices in regional centres.

STUDY BACKGROUND

The town of Broome is located on the country of the Yawuru people in the south-west of the Kimberley region in Western Australia (see Fig. 1). The town has undergone many economic, and consequently demographic, changes since it was first established in 1883 as a port for the emerging pearling industry. These broad shifts serve as the backdrop to the present study.

Fig. 1. Location of Broome, Western Australia



In the early years, indentured Asian labourers primarily from Japan, Indonesia, Timor and Malaysia were transported to Broome to work alongside Indigenous Australians in perilous diving jobs to harvest increasingly inaccessible and profitable pearl shell. By 1914, the town was the second-largest and wealthiest coastal settlement in Western Australia and was supplying 80 per cent of the world's pearls (Edwards 1984). Broome had received exemption from the White Australia Policy to facilitate Asian immigration, because non-Anglo labour was seen as expendable in an industry with a mortality rate as high as 50 per cent (Frost 2004). Despite laws and policies designed to militate against it, Indigenous and Asian workers began to weave together socially, resulting in the rich tapestry of culture, language, food and custom for which Broome has today become well-known.

Fig. 2. The *Sam Male* and the *D McD*: Two of the old luggers on display at Pearl Luggers in Broome's central Chinatown precinct



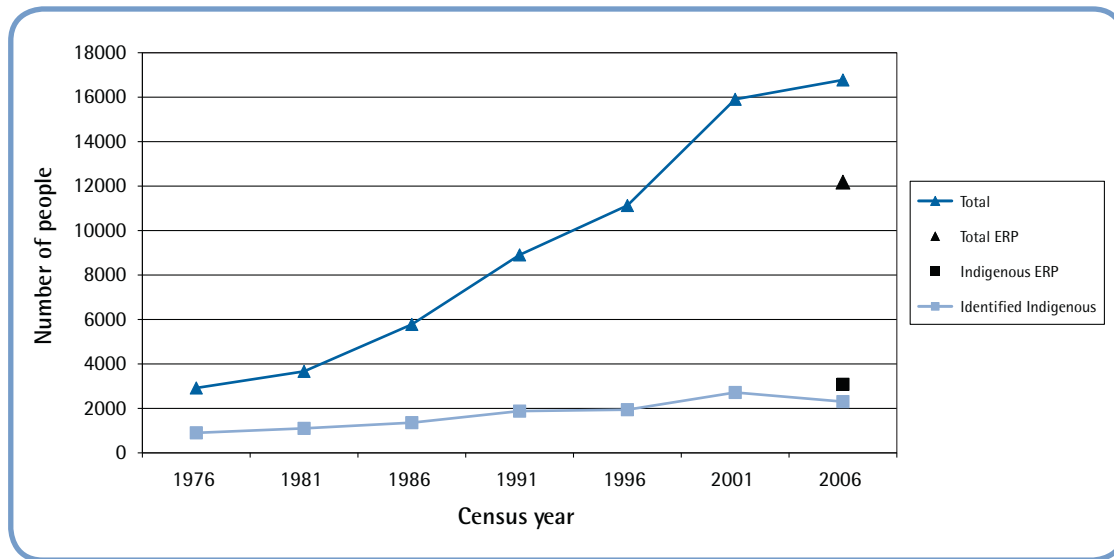
During the peak of the pearling industry in Broome, there were 403 luggers registered for operation (Edwards 1984).

Source: S. Prout, March 2008.

The pearling industry declined after World War 1, and collapsed almost altogether several decades later when the plastic button was invented. Accordingly, the town's population shrank. It was, in essence, reduced to a large fishing village with a majority Indigenous population. The next economic boom came in the late 1970s, when the tourism industry began to intensify in Broome. The town's non-Indigenous population has grown steadily since then, with annual peaks during the dry season—the heaviest period of tourism activity.

Fig. 3 plots the town's growing population since 1976 using census place of enumeration counts. It shows both the total population (darker line) and those from that total who identify as being Indigenous (lighter line). Given that the five-yearly census takes place in the middle of Broome's dry season, these place of enumeration counts are likely to include a significant number of temporary non-Indigenous visitors. Visitors from Australia and beyond continue to be drawn by Broome's stunning surrounds, warm winter climate, its Asian and Indigenous cultures and the history of oppression and survival that has entwined them, and its strategic location as the gateway to the Kimberley region (Frost 2004).

Fig. 3. Broome population trends, by census place of enumeration count



Source: Authors' calculations using data from the 1976, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006 ABS Censuses of Population and Housing.

If previous counts followed the pattern of the 2006 Census, they are also likely to have significantly undercounted the Indigenous population (see Biddle & Taylor 2008). Indeed, the estimated resident population (ERP) counts for 2006¹ which do not include visitors (the singular black markers on Fig. 3), show that in that year, the total resident population was considerably smaller than the total enumerated population. They also show that the resident Indigenous population was larger than the place of enumeration count showed. This comparison reveals that, at least in 2006, the place of enumeration count that is used as the basis for the rest of the graph, includes a large visiting non-Indigenous population and undercounts the resident Indigenous population. It therefore offers a distorted and disproportionate view of both the size of the resident population (smaller in reality) and the Indigenous share of it (larger in reality).

Nevertheless, there has clearly been large non-Indigenous population increase since the early 1980s. Based on most recent calculations, the estimated resident population of Broome in 2009 was 12,366, of whom 3,116 were Indigenous.² This demographic transformation to a large, mainly non-Indigenous population represents an almost complete reversal of the situation in the late 1960s.

While this paper focuses on Indigenous temporary mobility through the town, it is important to note at the outset, as Fig. 3 shows, that there is a significant amount of temporary movement through Broome amongst non-Indigenous people. While tourism accounts for much of this, there is also employment-related movement due to short-term work contracts, as well as movement to access services and educational opportunities. Despite ongoing local contestations about the impacts of tourism and related growth in Broome (Hudson 1989; Jackson 1996b; Whittaker 1997), non-Indigenous temporary mobility through the town is absorbed relatively comfortably by the existing service industry, as it generally stimulates and/or responds to market forces. By contrast, Indigenous temporary mobility through Broome is generally not so well accommodated.

ERP:
estimated resident
population

METHODOLOGY

Addressing the research questions required both the development and consolidation of innovative proxy measures of Indigenous temporary mobility, and attention to those facets of such movement that continue to elude statistical capture. The study therefore employed a mixed-method approach. The qualitative component included informal interviews with 24 Indigenous and 29 non-Indigenous service providers in the Shire of Broome, but predominantly the town of Broome itself. While the interview schedule was tailored to the specific role and work of the service provider, it included standard questions about the frequency, duration, direction and motivations for Indigenous temporary movement through the town; the demographic characteristics of movers; and how various services could, or do, plan for, and engage with, such movement. Interviews were typically digitally recorded and later partially transcribed to create a full and accurate record of the interview exchange.

The quantitative component of the study involved the collection and analysis of various administrative data that could directly capture, approximate, or allude to, some component of Indigenous temporary mobility through Broome. In particular, this analysis focused on education attendance and enrolment data. There are three Catholic and five public primary schools in the Shire of Broome. According to the latest available school census data, these schools service roughly 1,612 primary school students, 48 per cent of whom, overall, are Indigenous. In Shire schools outside of Broome (referred to throughout as 'Shire schools'), however, 96 per cent of the student population is Indigenous. Of these schools, three Broome primary schools and two smaller community schools in other parts of the region agreed to participate in the study. One was a Catholic school. To preserve confidentiality, aliases have been assigned to each of these schools. Pearl, Boab, and Mangrove Primary Schools are the three Broome schools. Inlet and Pindan Primary Schools are the two Shire schools. From these schools, enrolment and attendance records were obtained for each student in Grades 1–7. Data for the full 2008 year and the first term and a half of 2009 were available from four schools. At Mangrove Primary, however, the only available records were for the first 15 weeks of 2009.

Two types of data were collected from each school. The first dataset contained admission and leaving dates for students enrolled in the schools. The second dataset contained daily attendance records, by class, for each student at the school. A major obstacle to the analysis was that the provision of the datasets in a format that did not lend itself easily to demographic analysis, even though these demographic processes are central to school functioning. Consequently, a significant amount of time and resources had to be allocated to manually entering each daily student record into specially designed spreadsheets.

The next step was to clean the data and transform it into a dataset manageable for analysis. There were several steps involved in this process. First, daily attendance records were aggregated up to a weekly rate for each student. For ease of analysis, the attendance categories were collapsed into two categories—attend and absent. Given that the attendance dataset was not always up to date, records from the enrolment dataset were then used to reconcile the attendance dataset, so that students who had left the school were not marked as having an extended period of absence. A similar process was carried out for students who had long periods of absence, but were not marked as having left the school. In some instances students were on two school rolls at the same time. Reconciling the students across the schools also meant that there would not be two data records belonging to the same individual in different schools. The dataset for analysis was now comprehensive, complete and clean. Finally, a unique ID was assigned to each record to eliminate duplication and preserve student confidentiality.

The analysis does not draw on data from secondary or tertiary institutions because the mobility practices of older Indigenous youth are, essentially, less accurate proxies of wider community mobility dynamics. Older Indigenous children often have more independence within their family networks, and therefore their movements are less likely to reflect those of other family members. Further, their relationship to schooling is influenced by a unique set of structural, cultural, and life-stage factors that were beyond the scope of this study. They include:

- the restricted locational availability of secondary schooling
- the social and emotional advantages and challenges associated with boarding school arrangements
- the impact of ceremonial transitions to adulthood on attitudes to, or engagement with, formal schooling, and
- the social norms of Indigenous youth floating from place to place as part of an adolescent developmental process (e.g. Smith 2004).

THE CASE STUDY

BROAD TEMPORARY MOBILITY TRENDS THROUGH BROOME

Interview data identified several broad trends regarding Indigenous temporary mobility in the Broome region. Service providers frequently portrayed the Indigenous population in Broome as relatively immobile compared to those in other parts of the region, particularly the Fitzroy Valley. The majority of Indigenous temporary movement through Broome, they suggested, was the product of in- and out-visits from non-residents, with only a small proportion of movement generated by circulation amongst Indigenous Broome locals:

Overall if you're looking at a yearly base, you're going to have a large population of kids moving in and out of Broome ... I'd say out of 100 per cent [of Indigenous movement in general] it would be maybe 65–70 per cent of the other East Kimberley or other Kimberley people moving in and out. And the other percent would be just our Broome local people moving because: most common one is funerals ... and Law (Female Indigenous interviewee, Broome, June 2009).

Two parallel explanations for this dynamic emerged from interview data. The first was articulated by one non-Indigenous interviewee, who drew on his understanding of customary practice to explain the relative immobility of Broome Indigenous people. The argument was that there has always been a relatively permanent Indigenous presence in the Broome area. Like other Indigenous groups who lived on the coastal fringes of the continent, local Yawuru people,³ he explained, always had a stable and rich resource base. They had permanent food and water sources which could support large populations without requiring extensive seasonal migrations for survival. He explained that other Indigenous groups came to the area to trade, sometimes from considerable distances away. Yawuru would move for ceremonial purposes to the fringe of the desert, through rarely beyond the Fitzroy River, which was a ceremonial boundary. Other ceremonies would draw in neighbouring Karajarri from the South, Mangala and Nyikina from the East, and Bardi from the North.

This research did not attempt to develop a detailed understanding of local Indigenous custodianship or mobility in the area prior to 1883. However, the available published record regarding Indigenous presence and practice in the area before white settlement seems to generally support the picture painted above by this interviewee (e.g. Edwards 1984; Glowczewski 1998).

Colonisation, the interviewee suggested, primarily reinforced and accentuated these population dynamics. The establishment of the township and pearling industry meant there was always commercial activity that could sustain local people—albeit often under brutal labouring conditions. Indigenous children and youth were also brought to Broome (rather than taken away from it) for schooling under the provisions of *The Aborigines Act 1905*. Indigenous cattle drovers and traders continued to visit Broome in increasing numbers, and stayed in various itinerant camps that had long been established in the area.⁴ Many also came to Broome seeking work in the pearling industry and the various service roles that supported it. According to this explanation then, relative contemporary immobility amongst the local Indigenous population, and temporary influxes to the area by other groups, is entirely consistent with customary and historical practice.

The second and related explanation for the relative immobility of Broome Indigenous residents compared with other parts of the region concerns the nature of hub-and-spoke service delivery models. Economies of scale dictate that most services are concentrated in large regional towns or cities. So while in other more sparsely populated parts of the region considerable movement is required to access recreational, retail and social services, Broome residents have ready access to them. Broome hosts the regional hospital and prison, the football competition, two large shopping outlets, a range of restaurants and fast food outlets, and several pubs and liquor outlets. All of these services draw significant numbers of Indigenous visitors to the town. This service-related movement may explain why interviewees generally identified limited movement between the major towns of the Kimberley (Broome, Derby, Halls Creek & Kununurra). The more common pattern was for individuals and families from smaller settlements to 'hit' one of these larger towns for various reasons.

The most frequent visitors to Broome are from communities within the West Kimberley (including those on the Dampier Peninsula and Bidjardanga to the south), who have had long historical links to the town. Increasingly, however, the sphere of connection is spatially expanding. Several interviewees observed that Indigenous visitors are now coming to the town from increasingly distant communities, particularly in the East Kimberley. Most explained this as the product of more recent, family-chain migrations to access services, particularly dialysis treatment. As increasing numbers of Indigenous peoples from surrounding regions migrate to Broome to access medical treatment, jobs, or other opportunities, they often maintain strong links with their home communities. One of the markers of these enduring connections is movement of relatives between the two locales.

Distinguishing between those who have migrated to Broome, and those who are temporarily visiting is, however, a complicated task. For some people, state of mind is an equal consideration to physical presence. The following interview excerpt grapples with this notion of what it means to be a 'Broome local' in responding to a question about Indigenous transiency:

There's people that sleep up the Hill⁵ and spend their day on the oval. [They are] from somewhere else, but they've been there for years. When does that person stop being a transient person and just become a homeless person in Broome? (Female non-Indigenous interviewee, Broome, June 2009)

Another interviewee explained that while some Indigenous people may have physically relocated to Broome, they remain on the margins of the town's social life. He referred to these individuals, usually younger Indigenous people who are not attached to a Community Development Employment Projects (CDEP)

CDEP:

Community
Development
Employment
Projects

scheme, as 'itinerants'—not to describe their spatial practices, but to define their lack of firm association and ties to any particular place. They may initially come into Broome from surrounding communities, because there are more recreational and social opportunities in the town. Once in Broome, they may begin a relationship with a local person and stay long-term. They do not return to their community of origin, but never fully disconnect from it either. And while they may access the services in Broome, they maintain a kind of social distance from the local social community. They often live out at One Mile⁶ and group together because they share a common lifestyle of being 'in between'. They are usually single or separated and without children in their care.

EDUCATION AS A WINDOW

Primary-aged Indigenous children often move with their parents or guardians. Their movements therefore reflect the mobility practices not just of their age group, but often also older generations. Exploring how Indigenous students interact with the formal school system is therefore a potentially powerful window onto the broader relationship between temporary mobility and service delivery in the town. The qualitative discourse specific to the relationship between Indigenous mobility and schooling in Broome reflected the broad sentiment of movement through the town being generated largely by visitors whose primary connections lie elsewhere.

Interviewees identified two parallel dynamics at play in Broome with regard to education and Indigenous mobility. First, there is a school-aged Indigenous population, unknown in size, coming in and out of Broome on a regular basis, but never engaging with the formal school system. One non-government service provider could name at least 20 such Indigenous children that frequent Broome. She speculated there would be many more with whom she never interacts.

The story that introduces this paper highlights a lack of attachment that many Indigenous visitors to Broome feel. The town was not home to the boys and they therefore don't go to school there. Some interviewees suggested that while Indigenous children will often go to other schools when they move between small communities where they have family, they are less likely to attend school in bigger towns like Broome or Derby because they are much larger, more structured and intimidating environments. Another interviewee explained that parents coming in from the desert communities of the East Kimberley usually don't enrol their children in school because of the hurdles they face in doing so. They may lack the confidence in English to interact with the school's administrative staff; they may feel they have inadequate resources to support their children's attendance (e.g. no uniform, stationery, lunch etc); and they may be unfamiliar with the socialisation of mainstream schools.

In larger towns, Indigenous school-aged temporary visitors can more easily avoid the reach of the school's influence. And because they never interact with it, these children are largely invisible to the formal school sector in Broome:

And I think when it comes to kids that are moving around a lot, I don't know how well they're being—I don't know how aware the system is of these kids at all. I don't think they're aware of them at all ... The kids you're talking about, there's nothing out there for them. Because no one's really aware of where they are ... And I don't know how they're gonna do that (Male non-Indigenous interviewee, Broome, June 2009).

According to the August 2009 schools census, the three Catholic and five public primary schools in the Shire of Broome serviced a combined total of 1,612 students in Grades 1–7; 48 per cent (774) were Indigenous. In the smaller Shire schools outside of Broome, however, 96 per cent of students were Indigenous. While schools can collect high quality information regarding those identified students, it is not necessarily an

accurate reflection of the total number of Indigenous primary-aged children in the region. And although many service providers expressed a great interest in knowing the size of this disengaged and highly mobile population, the reality is, they remain largely statistically invisible.

The second dynamic that interviewees in the education sector overwhelmingly identified in relation to Indigenous mobility and primary schooling in Broome was that of the much larger Indigenous school-aged population who do engage with the formal school sector, only a small proportion (usually identified as roughly 10%) is highly mobile. While they all acknowledged that non-attendance was a significant issue in Broome, only a small amount of it was attributed to student transiency:

... I would say it's definitely other factors that impact on the non-attendance [in Broome] in a greater amount compared to the transiency. And I make that comparison say to the Fitzroy Valley where straight away transience has a huge impact and you can see that more substantially in that area. Whereas Broome, what I see are those other factors which are linked to poverty, overcrowding, neglect, substance abuse, alcohol and so on—are more predominant than their transience (Female non-Indigenous interviewee, Broome, June 2009).

Where they exist, these 'other factors' often combine to negate any interest in, or readiness for, school attendance. If children have been living in overcrowded, loud environments where alcohol or drug abuse is taking place, the daytime may be the quietest and safest time to rest or have a feed. Interviewees noted that school factors were also a deterrent to Indigenous attendance at school. These included feelings of alienation and shame in the school environment at not understanding gudiya (white person) classroom expectations, and being teased for not fitting in or having the right school resources (e.g. uniform, stationery, lunch etc.). Others feel unmotivated to go to school: it lacks relevance to their everyday experience and they see few examples of how formal schooling might be connected to future, desirable opportunities for them. As one interviewee noted, many of these children already have tough enough lives at home. Exposing themselves daily to these even more challenging school environments, which entrench feelings of inadequacy, is not a compelling option. And in the face of other more immediate challenges in the domestic environment, their parents and/or guardians may lack either the energy or inclination to insist otherwise:

With Aboriginal families, I feel that the kids take control of their parents. They are very demanding. Some parents—even though the kids might not be sick, even just a verbal gesture to say 'I'm sick', and then that's it. No argument (Female Indigenous interviewee, Broome, May 2009).

Few interviewees connected this child autonomy to customary practice. By contrast, many Indigenous interviewees described it as primarily the product of a lack of discipline or good parenting amongst these parents.

The general picture painted by interviews, then, was one of considerable, though unquantified movement of school-aged Indigenous children through Broome which never involved school communities, and only a marginal amount of temporary mobility amongst Indigenous students who were engaged with the formal school system. How then does school administrative data relate to this narrative?

DATA QUALITY

The Government of Western Australia's Department of Education (DET) has developed a standardised electronic data management system for collecting and storing all school administrative data, including attendance and enrolment information. Schools upload their data electronically and can generate from the system a range of student performance and trend reports. However, these outputs are heavily influenced by data-entry practices.

DET:

Department of
Education

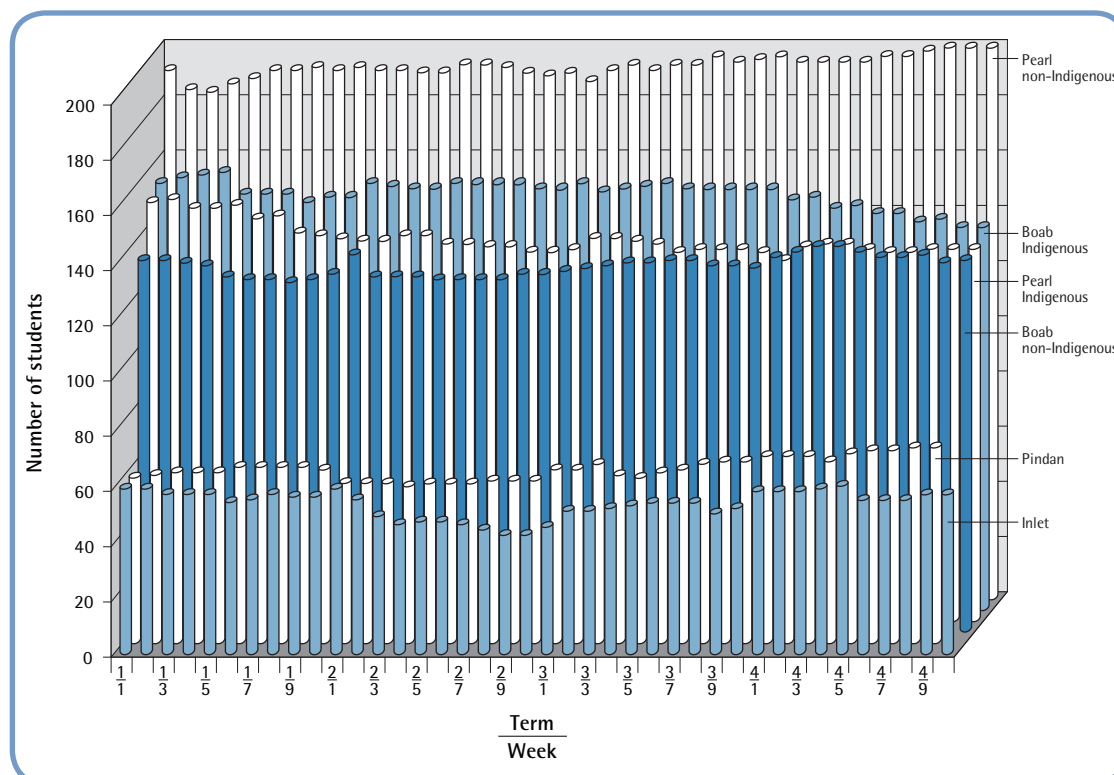
Enrolling, exiting and attendance-marking practices at each school are guided by DET policies, but vary somewhat at the local level. Official DET policy stipulates that a student must remain on the school's roll unless they receive a transfer note from another school (indicating that the child has moved), or until a set period of consecutive days of unexplained absences have passed. In the former case, exiting from the current role should be immediate. In the latter circumstance, variation abounds. Some schools in the region investigate unexplained absences promptly after only two or three days of consecutive unexplained absence, and are able to establish the child's whereabouts quickly and transfer records if required. For larger schools in Broome, this process of tracking and follow-up is more resource-taxing given both the size of the local community and the number of students at the school. It is generally less efficient.

Some schools may discover that a child has temporarily left the community or town, but are assured by family members that they will return soon. In this case, they may leave the child on their records until they return, even if the absence period exceeds 15 days. A representative from the Catholic school sector explained that while this practice may negatively impact attendance data, their funding is allocated on the basis of enrolment data. Their priority is therefore in ensuring enrolment records reflect the total number of students whom they teach throughout the year (i.e. their 'service population'), rather than simply those who are regularly in attendance. In DET schools, however, attendance outcomes are a performance indicator. Public schools in the region are therefore more likely to enrol and exit students as they come and go in order to maintain the highest possible attendance rates.

Interview data for this study also indicate that the smaller schools in other communities within the Shire were more likely to enrol a student under any circumstances and without precondition. Broome-based schools were generally more prescriptive. Their prescription is borne out of past experiences, where significant time and resources were invested into an enrolment process, only for the student to leave soon afterward, or never return for their first day. Broome-based schools generally require assurances from parents that students will be attending for at least two to four weeks before they agree to enrol them. They also employ a more extensive and demanding enrolment process than Shire schools, which sometimes deters parents from attempting to enrol their children at all. With these qualifications in mind, the following analysis brings a sense of the scale and shape of Indigenous student mobility through Broome.

ENROLMENT, ATTENDANCE AND MOBILITY

Enrolment data provide a way of looking at school-based mobility or turnover. Turnover is not a perfect measure of temporary student mobility: it can also be indicative of permanent moves, or school transfers within the same locale. However, turnover measures can be disaggregated to more clearly define what kind of moves they include. Further, student turnover has important implications for policy. For example, school and student performance can be measured longitudinally to evaluate if outcomes improve over time. However, if there is significant change amongst the student population within assessment periods, the same students are not necessarily being assessed. It is therefore impossible to draw conclusions about whether educational gaps are closing, or how much value the school adds to any individual child's education. In addition, in the public school system, staffing resources are allocated on the basis of an enrolment census in the second week of Term 1, and recalibrated early in Term 3 (primarily for the following year). To be effective, this process assumes and requires a static school population throughout the year. However, as the following data indicate, this often isn't the case.

Fig. 4. Weekly enrolments, 2008

Source: Administrative records from the case study schools.

Fig. 4 presents net weekly enrolment totals by Indigenous status for 2008, at four of the five schools that participated in this study. Each week's total is recalibrated as new admissions and exits are respectively added and subtracted from the previous week's total. Fig. 4 provides an overall impression. It shows some variation in enrolments across the school year amongst both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students at each school. What lies beneath these data, however, is a more illuminating and accurate picture of turnover.

Net enrolment data can mask considerable equal flows of students coming and going through the school in the same week. It is therefore useful to examine weekly flows of in- (enrolments) and out-moves (exits) over the same period. Table 1, for example, tracks all new student enrolments and exits from the formal school roll at Pearl Primary School in 2008. It does not include promotional moves into Grade 1 or exits after Grade 7.

The 'total' column in Table 1 represents the net difference (after in-moves are added and out-moves are subtracted) from the stock student population for that week. It shows that there are often flows of students coming and going in one week, which statistically results in little or no change to overall enrolments, and masks the realities of demographic change that are taking place (e.g. Term 2: Weeks 3, 4 & 5). Sometimes there was a substantial number of moves in both directions in one week. For example, in Week 2 of Term 1, there were 26 moves, resulting in a significant administrative burden for the school. The 2008 stocks and flows data for each school are summarised in Table 2.

Table 1. Stocks and flows at Pearl Primary School, 2008

Term/Week	In-moves	Out-moves	Total
1/1	0	0	344
1/2	10	16	338
1/3	5	9	334
1/4	5	2	337
1/5	3	0	340
1/6	3	5	338
1/7	1	0	339
1/8	2	7	334
1/9	1	3	332
1/10	1	1	332
2/1	3	5	330
2/2	0	0	330
2/3	3	2	331
2/4	2	2	331
2/5	3	3	331
2/6	0	0	331
2/7	0	2	329
2/8	0	2	327
2/9	2	5	324
2/10	3	2	325
3/1	4	6	323
3/2	9	1	331
3/3	7	5	333
3/4	1	4	330
3/5	2	1	331
3/6	1	4	328
3/7	3	0	331
3/8	1	1	331
3/9	0	0	331
3/10	1	1	331
4/1	4	9	326
4/2	6	1	331
4/3	3	2	332
4/4	1	1	332
4/5	2	2	332
4/6	1	2	331
4/7	2	0	333
4/8	2	0	335
4/9	0	0	335
4/10	0	0	335

Source: Administrative records from Pearl Primary School.

Table 2. Case study schools stocks and flows summary, 2008

Variable	Pearl	Boab	Inlet	Pindan
Average school population	332	283	54	62
Indigenous share (%)	42	53	100	100
Total net change	-9	-16	-2	+11
Indigenous in-moves	45	43	39	33
Indigenous out-moves	62	59	43	21
Total Indigenous moves	107	102	82	54
Non-Indigenous in-moves	52	41	n/a	n/a
Non-Indigenous out-moves	44	41	n/a	n/a
Total non-Indigenous moves	96	82	n/a	n/a
Total moves	203	184	82	54
Indigenous turnover rate (%)	77	68	152	87
Adjusted Indigenous turnover rate (%)	32	36	152	87
Non-Indigenous turnover rate (%)	50	62	n/a	n/a
Adjusted non-Indigenous turnover rate (%)	29	29	n/a	n/a
School turnover rate (%)	61	65	152	87
Note:	The Indigenous turnover rate is a measure of Indigenous moves over average Indigenous students. The adjusted Indigenous turnover rate is a measure of Indigenous moves over total average school population. The same principle applies for the non-Indigenous rates.			
Source:	Administrative records from the case study schools, excluding Mangrove Primary School, for which only 2009 data was available.			

There are a number of salient points to draw from Table 2. First, it shows that in 2008 at the two Broome schools, almost half of the total moves are amongst non-Indigenous students. This demonstrates that student turnover is not simply an 'Indigenous issue' in the region. Second, in each school, the net change from the beginning to the end of year gives very little indication of the total volume of movement through the school gate over the course of the year. At Inlet Primary, for example, the overall change was a loss of only two students, but there were 82 moves throughout the year. Third, proportional to population size, as the last row of Table 2 indicates, there were considerably more moves at the two Shire schools (Inlet and Pindan) than at the two Broome schools.

In bringing meaning to these calculated turnover rates, it is necessary to have some kind of comparative gauge against which to interpret them. In a study of pupil mobility in England, Dobson, Henthorne and Lynas (2000) developed a measure of turnover similar to the one used in the present study. Their rate was calculated using the following formula:

$$\frac{\text{Joiners (in-moves)} + \text{Leavers (out-moves)}}{\text{Total school roll (January)}} \times 100$$

The formula used in the present study differs only slightly. To match the numerator which includes moves over the whole school year, it takes average annual student enrolments as the denominator, rather than a point-in-time enrolment census early in the school year, as seen in Dobson, Henthorne and Lynas (2000). Despite this minor difference, their findings provide a helpful benchmark for those presented in Table 2. They found that across England, mobility rates of between 10–20 per cent were the norm. Somewhere

Table 3. Enrolment breakdowns at case study schools, 2008

	Average enrolments	Continuous enrolments	Total enrolments	Permanent share (%)
Pearl Indigenous	139	104	188	55
Pearl Non-Indigenous	193	162	237	68
Boab Indigenous	153	114	194	59
Boab Non-Indigenous	139	109	167	65
Inlet	54	39	95	41
Pindan	63	52	83	63
Source: Administrative records from the case study schools.				

between one-tenth and one-half of schools that returned data had rates of 20 per cent or above, and fewer still had rates of 30 per cent and above. The highest rate found in the study was 137 per cent. They concluded that a rate of 20–30 per cent should be considered high, while a rate of 30 per cent or more should be considered very high.

According to this benchmark, all of the schools that participated in this study exhibited extremely high rates of student turnover, with an exceptional amount at Inlet Primary. The Indigenous rates at Pearl and Boab Primary Schools were both higher than their whole school turnover rates, but still lower than those at both the Shire schools (Inlet and Pindan). Though the differences in Indigenous turnover rates between the urban and smaller community schools are not great, the issue of Indigenous turnover is less prominent for educators in Broome schools. There are perhaps two reasons for this. First, because these schools also cater to a large non-Indigenous population who in turn also experience high rates of turnover, the issue is not unique to Indigenous students. Second, as the adjusted rates show, Indigenous turnover at Broome schools is 'diluted' by larger overall school populations.

Though not presented here in tabulated form, the trend in the first part of 2009 was similar for all schools. By Week 15, the two Shire schools already had turnover rates in excess of 50 per cent (which would only escalate as the year progressed, and total moves as a numerator increased), and the Broome schools (Pearl and Boab), with rates of 18 and 21 per cent respectively, were on their way to having rates similarly high to those of 2008. Data for Mangrove Primary were also available for the early part of 2009. Of all of the schools, it had the largest overall population, the smallest proportion of Indigenous students, and the lowest turnover rate (15%). For all these reasons, it is a demographically unique school within the region.

In terms of the relationship between mobility and enrolment data, two questions emerge with regard to the nature of the moves discussed above. Firstly, given that one student can be responsible for more than one move, what proportion of the school population actually contributes to student turnover? Secondly, do these moves actually amount to temporary spatial mobilities, or do they simply reflect changes between schools in one town, or even permanent relocations elsewhere?

Tables 3 and 4 address the first question. They compare continuous enrolments (i.e. all students who were continually on the roll throughout the year) for 2008 and the first 15 weeks of 2009 with total enrolments (i.e. all students who had enrolled in the school at some point during the year), to derive a permanent share (i.e. the proportion of total enrolments that were continuous from Term 1, Week 1). The remaining proportion is that which contributes to student turnover. Average enrolments are included as a comparative benchmark.

Table 4. Enrolment breakdowns at case study schools, 2009

	Average enrolments	Continuous enrolments	Total enrolments	Permanent share (%)
Pearl Indigenous	142	119	150	79
Pearl non-Indigenous	173	165	188	88
Boab Indigenous	155	141	171	82
Boab non-Indigenous	138	131	161	81
Mangrove Indigenous	34	30	36	83
Mangrove non-Indigenous	365	339	390	87
Inlet	52	44	69	64
Pindan	78	58	93	62
Source: Administrative records from the case study schools.				

Table 3 shows that for 2008, Indigenous turnover was spread over a large proportion of students in almost every school. A significant proportion (32–35%) of non-Indigenous students were also generating turnover at the two Broome schools. Further, at Pindan Primary School, the calculated permanent share is likely to be inflated because the process for enrolling and exiting, and recording these changes, was less stringent than the other three schools. In reality, student turnover at that school was likely spread over a greater proportion of Indigenous students. In the first part of 2009 (Table 4), where records were more complete and accurate, Pindan Primary was the school with proportionally the greatest number of movers of any of the schools.

All of the permanent shares in 2009 were higher, since a year of complete data was not available. However, comparatively, Table 4 suggests that although there was less overall movement at Mangrove Primary School in the first part of 2009, it was shared amongst a similar proportion of students as the other two Broome schools. And the exceptionally high rates of turnover experienced in the Shire schools are spread amongst a larger proportion of the total student population. Clearly, the moves described earlier are not merely the product of a small number of students coming and going regularly.

In terms of the nature of the moves themselves, several pertinent observations can be drawn from the available data. Clearly, all student moves to and from the Shire schools represent interlocale moves. In Broome, however, a move from one school may be indicative of a move to another Broome school, rather than a physical relocation. In public schools, enrolment records have source and destination location fields attached to them. If these data are consistently and accurately entered, they can be used to map the direction of moves and make these distinctions. Table 5 presents these data for 2009 at Boab Primary School.

Table 5. Boab Primary School source and destination schools, 2009

Indigenous				Non-Indigenous			
In from	No.	Out to	No.	In from	No.	Out to	No.
Broome	1	Broome	3	Home school	1	Broome	11
Shire	4	Shire	3	Overseas	2	Shire	1
Derby	1	Fitzroy Crossing	1			South Hedland	1
Wananami	1	Bayulu	1			Kununurra	1
Halls Creek	2	Birlirr Ngawiyiwu	1			Perth	4
Kununurra	1	Halls Creek	1			Queensland	1
Leinster	2	Kununurra	2			Overseas	1
Northern Territory	1	South Hedland	2			<i>Not specified</i>	5
Interstate	1	Carnarvon	1				
		Geraldton	2				
		Northern Territory	3				
		Queensland	1				
		<i>Not specified</i>	7				
Total	14		29		3		25
Note: 'Shire' includes the communities of Bidyadanga, Djarindjin/Lombardina, Beagle Bay and One Arm Point. Source: Administrative records from Boab Primary School.							

Table 5 indicates that in the first part of 2009, there were flows of Indigenous students between Boab Primary and a number of Kimberley schools. This was not the case for non-Indigenous students. Of known out-moves (i.e. excluding moves that were 'not specified') amongst non-Indigenous students, 55 per cent were to other schools within Broome; 20 per cent were to schools in Perth; and only 10 per cent (n=2) were to other schools in the Kimberley. Essentially therefore, around half of the non-Indigenous moves in 2009 did not involve students physically leaving Broome. By contrast, only 14 per cent of Indigenous moves were to other schools in Broome. Forty-three per cent of Indigenous moves were to schools in other towns or communities in the Kimberley, and 24 per cent were to schools in other major regional centres within Western Australia. There were no moves to Perth schools.

In 2008 though, the pattern was somewhat different. Though not tabulated here, the data show that a substantial proportion of both Indigenous (34%) and non-Indigenous (24%) known moves were simply to other schools within Broome. They were not indicative of temporary mobility. The remaining known Indigenous moves were, in descending order of volume, to other Kimberley schools, Perth schools, and other regional centres. Of known non-Indigenous moves, the majority were to interstate schools, followed by moves to Perth schools.

Table 6. Pearl Primary School source and destination schools, 2009

Indigenous				Non-Indigenous			
In from	No.	Out to	No.	In from	No.	Out to	No.
Broome	3	Shire	1	Broome	2	Broome	1
Shire	3	Wangkatjungka	1	Perth	4	Tambellup	1
Derby	2	Halls Creek	1	Queensland	1	Perth	1
Boulder	1	Geraldton	2	<i>Not specified</i>	15	<i>Not specified</i>	2
Perth	2	Mullewa	1				
<i>Not specified</i>	14	Perth	2				
		<i>Not specified</i>	5				
Total	25		13		22		5
Note: 'Shire' includes the communities of Bidyadanga, Djarindjin/Lombardina, Beagle Bay and One Arm Point. Source: Administrative records from Pearl Primary School.							

Such clear conclusions, however, could not always be drawn from the data. Table 6 presents the 2009 data for Pearl Primary School. It shows that many source and destination locations were 'not specified'. It was therefore not possible to determine the catchment area within which the school operates. In 2008, there was little more clarity. Most source locations were unspecified for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. Of destination locations, 43 per cent were unspecified for Indigenous students and 28 per cent were unspecified for non-Indigenous students. Most other public schools had similarly incomplete location data, and there is no provision for recording these data within the Catholic system. However, when they are collected and recorded systematically, they have the capacity to greatly enhance the interpretation of turnover data.

The study employed one final process for understanding and interpreting moves at the various schools. Qualitative analysis of 2009 attendance records indicated that there are a number of student 'moves' that are not captured in the enrolments database. These often appear on attendance records as extended periods (1–3 weeks) of unexplained absence. In Term 1 of 2009 at Pearl Primary, at least eight of these additional temporary return moves were identified amongst individual Indigenous students. That equates to 6 per cent of the average Indigenous student population. Over the same period at Inlet school, 14 such moves were identified amongst individual Indigenous students, equating to 26 per cent of the average student population. And finally, in the first seven weeks of Term 2, 2009 at Boab Primary, at least 20 of these additional temporary return moves were identified amongst individual Indigenous students. That equates to 13 per cent of the average Indigenous student population. These numbers are conservative indications of the real volume of temporary movement through the school, since they are not necessarily indicative of complete and accurate coverage. They are, however, consistent with interview data, which indicated that only a small proportion of Broome Indigenous students were highly mobile. It seems from these findings, though, that a large proportion of Indigenous students in smaller Shire schools *are* highly mobile.

ATTENDANCE AND MOBILITY

According to the Western Australian Auditor General's report, Indigenous school attendance outcomes in the Kimberley are the poorest in Western Australia (Murphy 2009). Table 7 presents attendance rates in descending order for 2008 and the first part of 2009 for Western Australia, the Kimberley region, and each of the case study schools by Indigenous status.

Table 7. Attendance rates at case study schools against State and District averages, 2008 and early 2009^a

	2008 attendance rate (%)	2009 attendance rate (%)
Mangrove non-Indigenous	-- ^b	93.2
Pearl non-Indigenous	91.7	92.3
Western Australia	91.3	-- ^b
Boab non-Indigenous	89.6	87.3
Mangrove Indigenous	-- ^b	86.7
Pearl Indigenous	80.7	79.7
Kimberley	80.5	-- ^b
Inlet	74.2	77.9
Boab Indigenous	74.0	71.5
Pindan	62.7	66.2
Notes: a. First 15 weeks of 2009 only. b. Comparative data not available.		
Source: Administrative records from the case study schools and Murphy (2009).		

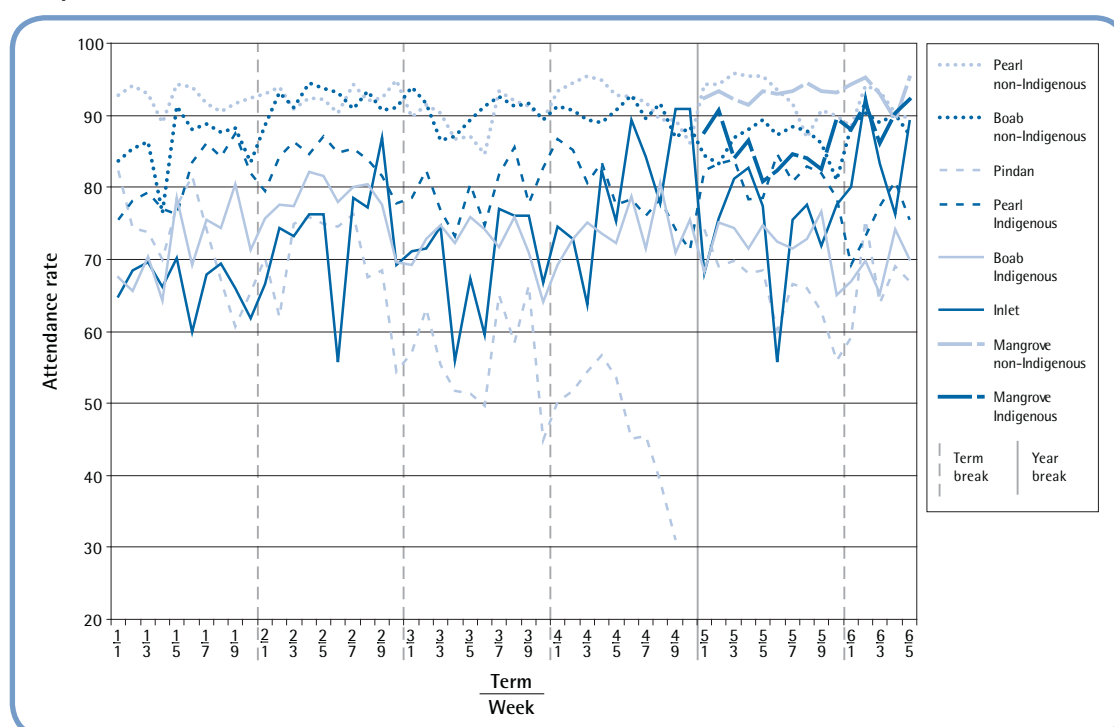
Note that in 2008, no Indigenous student population recorded average attendance rates above the State average, or any of the non-Indigenous averages. Further, both of the Shire schools (Inlet and Pindan) were well below even the Kimberley average. The different policies between the State and Catholic sectors regarding the recording and reporting of attendance statistics may go some way to explaining the significantly lower rates observed at Pindan Primary.⁷ In the first part of 2009, though, both of these schools showed significant improvement, while most of the Broome schools showed decline.

DET policy defines 90 per cent as the benchmark for regular attendance, and considers any child with an attendance rate of below 80 per cent as being at 'severe educational risk'. Across the Broome case study schools in the first 15 weeks of 2009, 45 per cent of Indigenous students were attending at, or above, the 90 per cent benchmark. Interviewees were asked specifically about this group of Indigenous students and whether there were any predictors of regular attendance at a single school. Many struggled to respond, attempting to avoid generalisations for which they saw regular exceptions. However, responses commonly circled discursively around the concepts of a stable home life within established local families; parent employment and an associated elevation of socioeconomic status; active parenting by a permanent care-giver; and a related intergenerational valuing of education.

While contemporary public discourse may posit that such a profile is indicative of families who have assimilated into non-Indigenous society and culture, no such conclusions were drawn amongst interviewees for this study. Indeed, as the following interview excerpt suggests, for many Indigenous people in Broome, pursuing a formal education forms part of a whole lived experience that includes the maintenance and development of cultural practice and identity:

And given my education, that's why I stress the importance of ensuring my children are literate and have the confidence to do anything they want. But I also ensure that their culture is part of their identity. It's finding that balance (Female Indigenous interviewee, Broome, June 2009).

Fig. 5. Attendance rates at case study schools by Indigenous status, 2008 and early 2009



Source: Administrative records from the case study schools.

Relational, cultural, economic and residential stability seemed to generally define this group of families. However, the slim majority of Indigenous students in Broome, and the overwhelming majority (80%) of Indigenous students in the Shire schools (Inlet and Pindan) had attendance rates below the benchmark. When these rates are plotted longitudinally (Fig. 5), the overall impression is somewhat jumbled, but upon closer inspection, some important and potentially explanatory trends become apparent.

There are clearly large fluctuations around the averages at both of the Shire schools (Table 7). These are probably due in part to the small size of the school populations and the consequent proportional impact of individual absences. However, jumps of up to 20 per cent in consecutive weeks are perhaps also indicative of community factors, such as funerals, celebrations, or feuds, which may be impacting student attendance on a broad scale. At Pindan Primary, there is also a marked downward trend throughout 2008, which may, in part, be an artefact of the data-entry process: students could be recorded as being absent despite having left the school at an earlier point in the year.

The non-Indigenous attendance rates at all three Broome schools are relatively uniform around the 90 per cent benchmark. By contrast, the Indigenous rates at all three Broome schools very rarely approach that mark. The one exception is the small Indigenous population at Mangrove Primary. In Week 4 of Term 2 2009, the Mangrove Indigenous attendance rate is higher than the non-Indigenous attendance rate at any school. This is the only such occurrence identified over the 55 weeks.

The Indigenous rates at both Boab and Pearl Primary Schools follow a similar pattern throughout much of 2008 and early 2009 (though the rate at Boab Primary is consistently around 5% lower than at Pearl Primary). This suggests that there may be similar town factors affecting whether or not both Indigenous

groups of students attend their respective schools. Term 2 of 2008 generally appeared to be the period of highest sustained attendance rates for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. Finally, amongst almost all the Indigenous populations, there are also marked dips in attendance at the ends of terms.

Interviewees regularly indicated that Indigenous non-attendance in Broome is more commonly a product of home and school factors, rather than student transiency. The distinctions are important, since different approaches would be required to address each form of non-attendance. At present, education administrative reporting does not distinguish between these forms of non-attendance. However, if attendance records for individual students are reconciled across schools, it is possible to measure how much 'unexplained absence' at a given school can be explained by attendance elsewhere. This will provide some indication of the proportion of non-attendance that is attributable to student transiency.

In 2008, the combined attendance rate for Indigenous students across the four case study schools for which data was available was 74.1 per cent. After reconciling individual student attendance records across these four schools to adjust for duplicate records, the attendance rate increased to 74.4 per cent. In the early part of 2009, the unreconciled rate was 74.3 per cent, and the adjusted rate increased to 74.8 per cent. By comparison, the non-Indigenous rates for both years remained unchanged. These changes of 0.3 per cent and 0.5 per cent seem relatively small, but they are significant for two reasons. First, these records were reconciled over only four schools in 2008 and five schools in 2009. There are 40 primary schools in the Kimberley alone, and Tables 5 and 6 show that there is movement of Indigenous students well beyond the five schools included in this study. If all schools in the region, or across the public, independent and Catholic sectors were included in the analysis, more duplicates would likely be identified and adjusted for. The reconciled attendance rate would then be significantly higher. In such a scenario, findings would not only more comprehensively map the movements of students between schools, but would also more accurately reflect the true attendance rates of Indigenous students. Second, the changes in rates were accounted for by only three students in 2008 and seven students in 2009. This handful of students were marked as absent at one school for between three and six weeks, but were attending at another one of the five schools. Their sustained periods of unexplained absence dragged the overall attendance rates at their school down substantially.

According to DET policies, instances of overlapped enrolment and attendance records should technically never take place. And indeed many of the overlaps involved Pindan Primary, the Catholic school. This makes a cross-sectoral system for reconciling records all the more vital in determining true Indigenous attendance rates and in assessing how much of non-attendance is the product of temporary moves elsewhere. Of course, not all children who temporarily leave their town or community enrol in a school at their destination. Education data will therefore never completely capture the true volume and direction of Indigenous student movement. Current practices for recording and analysing data can, however, be systematically enhanced to provide a much more accurate picture of these dynamics.

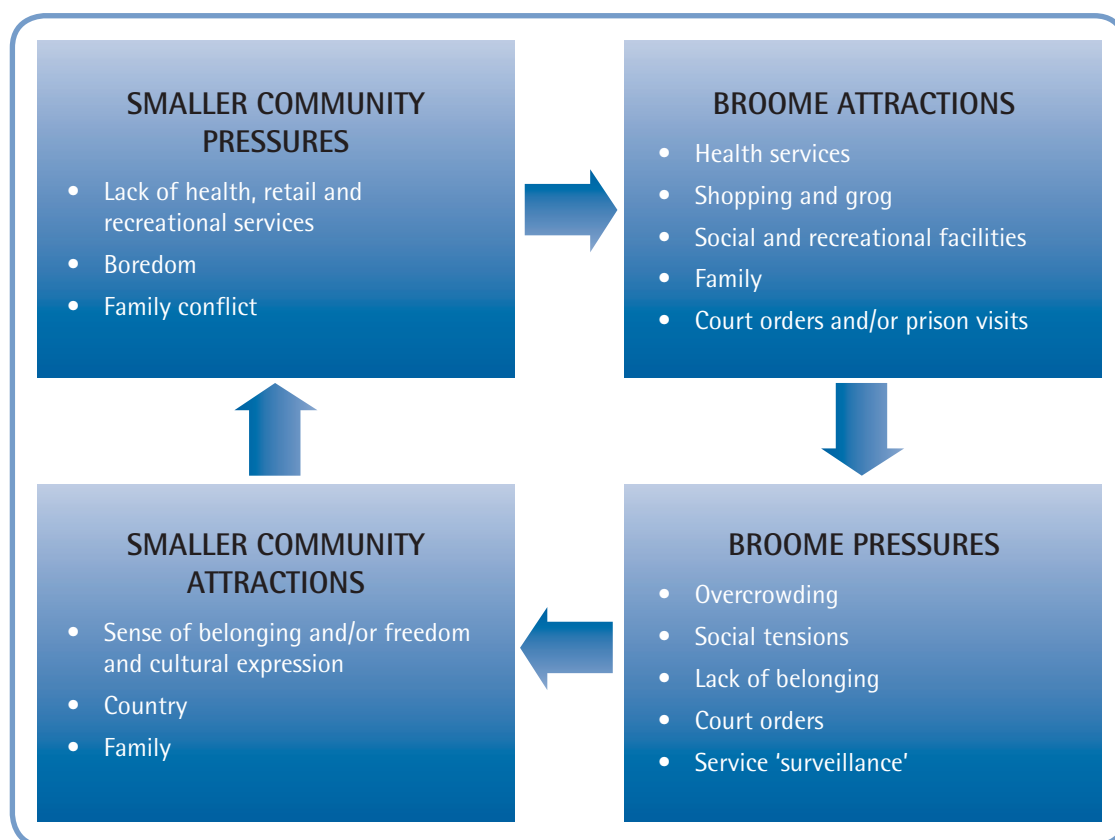
In summary then, these education data indicate extremely high rates of student turnover at the five case study schools, and particularly at the two Shire schools. Movement through these schools is generally spread over a considerable proportion of each school's population, and in the Broome schools it is shared relatively evenly amongst Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. This turnover, however, is not always indicative of temporary mobility. In the smaller Shire schools, a significant amount of student transiency was identified. However, in Broome, the data support qualitative findings which suggested that high mobility only characterises a small proportion of Indigenous students. While these proportions are small, the unexplained absences generated by this group of highly mobile students can have a marked effect on reported attendance rates.

While these administrative education data provide a proxy measure of the scale and composition of Indigenous temporary mobility, they are unable to characterise or contextualise the movements of Indigenous school-aged children and their families who come in and out of Broome on a regular basis but never, or rarely, engage with the formal school sector. The next section explores the social, economic and demographic conditions that shape such movements amongst Indigenous people in the region.

HITTING TOWN

Many factors can temporarily draw Indigenous people to regional centres from smaller hinterland communities, and subsequently engender their return home (e.g. Memmott, Long & Thompson 2006; Prout 2008a; Taylor 1989). Interviewees identified a number of these push-pull factors in Broome, summarised in Fig. 6.

Fig. 6. Push-pull factors influencing temporary mobility through Broome



The following discussion divides these factors into two types: 'sociocultural' considerations and 'structural' considerations, although such delineations are somewhat misleading, since many people come to Broome for multiple and overlapping reasons. Of all of the considerations submitted by interviewees, only key sociocultural factors were linked to temporary out-movement of the local Indigenous population. These included family, funerals, visiting country and law. In general, however, interviewees focused almost all of their discussion regarding temporary movement through Broome on what drew visitors to the town for short periods.

THE SOCIOCULTURAL FACTORS

Interviewees identified several sociocultural factors that draw Indigenous people temporarily to Broome, including family, funerals, footy and festivals.

Family and family structures

Indigenous family structures in the Shire of Broome often do not resemble neat and discrete nuclear households. They are generally more fluid and dynamic, and this has implications for the movement of both children and adults through Broome. The Western Australian Aboriginal Child Health Survey conducted in 2004 found that 37 per cent of Indigenous children in the Shire of Broome were looked after by a sole parent. A further 14 per cent were in the care of someone other than an original parent (Zubrick et al. 2005). Therefore, 51 per cent of Indigenous children in the Shire were not living in dual-parent households. According to some interviewees, it is not unusual for Indigenous children to be in the primary care of a grandparent or aunty. Though few interviewees viewed such arrangements as detrimental for the child, some linked these fluid arrangements of care with mobility practices:

It always interests me how sometimes mum might be in a completely different town living with a completely different set of other family members and that that child might not actually have that link to their biological mother for months. But that's just how it is. So there's a lot of movement there ... it's just constantly shifting (Female non-Indigenous interviewee, Broome, June 2009).

Interviewees noted that many Indigenous children in Broome moved frequently between the homes of various related carers. Sometimes, children move with their primary carer(s) between homes or communities as they 'do time' in the home communities of both sets of in-laws.⁸ Sometimes children move between parents as a result of family breakdown. Interview data also indicate that family conflict or trouble is a common cause of temporary movement through Broome. Domestic violence, Department for Child Protection (DCP) relocation orders, fighting, and relational backlash as a consequence of recent inquiries into sexual abuse and suicides were all discussed as circumstances that have, and do, generate considerable temporary population movement into Broome.

Maintaining positive family links also generates temporary mobility. The dynamics of courtship, caring for the sick, and nurturing important social networks of reciprocal support can generate movement into Broome, and also prompt local residents to temporarily visit other communities.

Funerals

Interviewees in Broome described the unrelenting regularity of funerals in the region as one of the most significant drivers of temporary movement through the town. As a result of historical policies of forced population containment and relocation (Hamilton 1987; Rowley 1970; Toussaint 1995), as well as personal migration choices, many Indigenous people who live in Broome have family in other parts of the Kimberley. Funerals both draw Broome Indigenous people away from the town temporarily, and bring other Kimberley people to the town for periods. People prioritise gathering to properly mourn the loss of loved ones. The duration of funeral-related movement for individuals depends on several factors, including how closely related they were to the deceased person, their family groups' mourning process and rituals, and sometimes, their employment status. Local Indigenous research participants conveyed a broader sentiment of commitment to observing proper cultural protocols in relation to funerals and respecting those of other Indigenous groups within the Kimberley.

DCP:

Department for
Child Protection

Footy

Football generates regular Indigenous temporary mobility in many parts of regional and remote Western Australia. The West Kimberley competition, which runs throughout the dry season, includes four Broome teams and one team each from the communities of Beagle Bay, Bidadanga, and Looma. Importantly though, all games are played in Broome, so all football-related movement is into Broome rather than away from it.

Festivals

Broome hosts several regional festivals and carnivals that draw Indigenous people to the town temporarily. These include the Broome races, regional basketball and football carnivals, and the celebrated Shinju Matsuri, or Festival of the Pearl. While some people travel to attend such events, others accompany them opportunistically: they jump in a car that's travelling to an event in order to attend to other business in Broome. In other words, influxes during these events can be as much momentum-driven as event-driven.

Law

Law business also generates some temporary movement out of Broome. Certain older boys and specific male relatives leave the town for up to two months for ceremonial activity conducted out of town. Generally, this ceremonial movement coincides with the school summer holiday period. Several interviewees for this study indicated that ceremonial activities used to take place within the town, but these have now ceased.

STRUCTURAL CONTEXT: THE ROLE OF THE MAINSTREAM SERVICE SECTOR

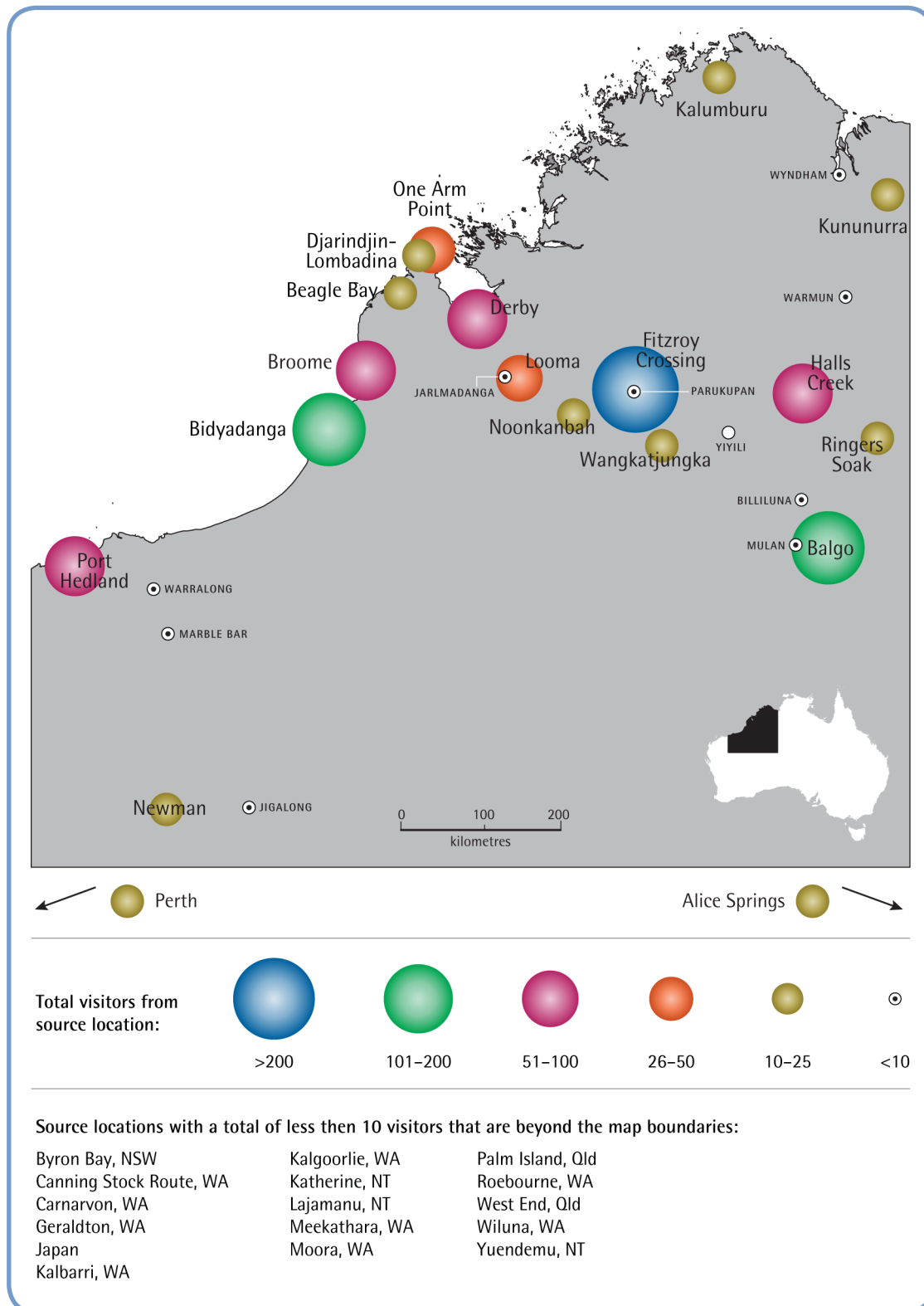
In addition to the sociocultural factors described above, a range of structural factors also influence temporary Indigenous mobility through Broome. Because many of the region's social and recreational services are located in Broome, many Indigenous visitors are temporarily drawn to the town to access them. At the same time, the social and logistical pressures associated with accommodating these visits can generate out-movement.

Grog and shopping

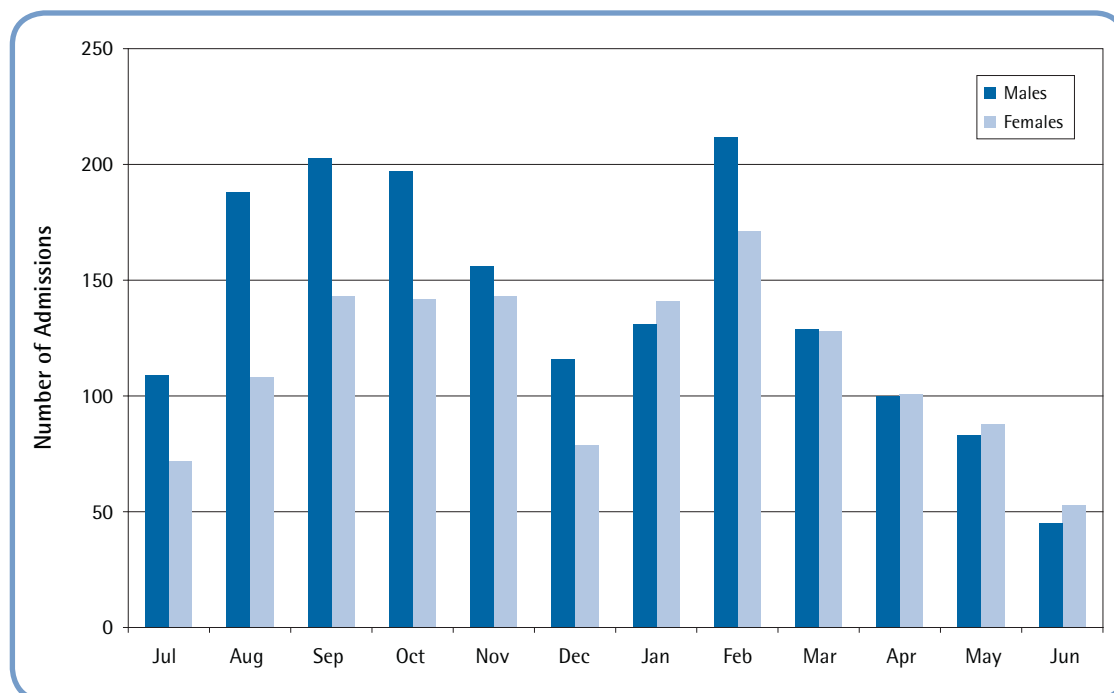
Interviewees regularly cited access to grog as a key Broome 'pull factor'. Some described temporary return grog-related movement into Broome from two dry communities within the surrounding region—Looma and One Arm Point. More commonly though, return movement from these communities, particularly from One Arm Point and the other peninsula communities, was described as short, weekend trips into town for shopping.

Many interviewees, however, indicated that the introduction of alcohol restrictions in Fitzroy Crossing and Halls Creek—on 27 September 2007 and 18 May 2009 respectively—had brought increasing numbers of visitors from those places to Broome to access full-strength alcohol. This process of temporary, return movement from the Fitzroy Valley to access grog in larger towns is described locally as 'the rabbit run' (Kinanne et al 2009). Kinanne et al.'s evaluation of the restrictions in Fitzroy Crossing found that some local residents believe that the restrictions have inspired a mass exodus from Fitzroy Crossing (of up to 700) individuals, and that towns like Broome, Derby and Halls Creek have consequently been flooded by an influx of homeless and itinerant drinkers. Others painted a less dramatic picture which, Kinanne et al. conclude, more closely matches with other available evidence. They argue that the group who have relocated is likely no more than 200, and temporary mobility to access grog has become part of a 'multiple motive' process of shopping-related movement amongst increasingly informed consumers (Kinanne et al. 2009).

Fig. 7. Source locations of clients at the Broome Sober-Up Shelter for the 11 months to June 2009



Source: Data provided by the Broome Sober-Up Shelter.

Fig. 8. Client visits to the Broome Sober-Up Shelter, 2008–09

Source: Data provided by the Broome Sober-Up Shelter.

One emerging source of useful grog-related data is the Broome Sober-Up Shelter (the busiest in the State), which has begun to keep thorough administrative records of client access. Like most administrative data, however, they have two important limitations as proxy measures for Indigenous temporary (in this case grog-related) movement into Broome. First, they only capture data related to visitors who access their service. Qualitative data suggest that many Indigenous visitors who come to Broome for any reason, camp with relatives in town. Second, shelter data are not exclusively indicative of grog-related movement. Those visitors that access the service may have come to Broome for other reasons entirely and wound up at the shelter incidentally. Nevertheless, shelter data paint an instructive picture of the spatial, temporal, and demographic characteristics of a cohort of temporary visitors to Broome who are accessing grog.

The shelter has 26 beds as very basic overnight accommodation from Monday night to Saturday morning for intoxicated individuals. In the 12 months to July 2008, Indigenous people made up 98 per cent of the 594 clients who accessed the shelter,⁹ and 99.7 per cent of the 4,229 admissions. The following 12 months were slightly slower for the shelter, with 513 clients and 3,148 admissions, 97 and 99 per cent of whom, respectively, were Indigenous. Almost all clients in the two months to July 2009 were over the age of 18, with the majority (64%) being over the age of 35. Men outnumbered women by one-third.

Fig. 7 provides a visual representation of the source locations of clients accessing the Broome Sober-Up Shelter for the 11 months to June 2009.¹⁰ As it indicates, the greatest number of clients came from Fitzroy Crossing (205), followed by Balgo (115) and Bidyadanga (115). It also shows that the shelter's catchment area is expansive, with clients arriving from right across the Kimberley, other regions of Western Australia, and (in fewer numbers) from other States and Territories altogether.

While Fig. 7 provides an indication of the spatial dimension of temporary movement into Broome involving the Sober-Up Shelter, Fig. 8 explores the temporal aspects of the movement.

Few interviewees suggested that seasonal variation had a marked impact on the volume of Indigenous temporary mobility into Broome. However, Fig. 8 shows a general increase in visits during the dry season months. It also shows, particularly in the latter part of the year, a relative balance between male and female visits. Ultimately though, more time-series data are required to truly draw out any significant temporal patterns.

In terms of the impact of the alcohol restrictions in Fitzroy Crossing on temporary grog-related movement to Broome, the comparative preceding data for the 12 months to July 2008 are not disaggregated by month or client place of residence, so it is difficult to establish if: a) they were bolstered by a marked increase in Fitzroy Valley clients in the months after the restrictions were emplaced; and/or b) the 2008–09 decline was amongst Fitzroy Crossing visitors.

Health

The location and delivery of health services is another structural factor that instigates a significant amount of Indigenous temporary movement through Broome. Specifically, interviewees described the impact of dialysis treatment on drawing people temporarily to Broome. Outside of Broome, there are dialysis chairs in several towns and communities throughout the Kimberley. There are two in Derby, and one each at Fitzroy Crossing, Balgo, Kununurra and Kalumburu. Technically, each of these chairs could service up to four dialysis patients. However, none of these dialysis units are well utilised. There is no permanent nursing presence associated with them, and although any patient carer can be trained to use the equipment, operating the haemodialysis machine and dialyser is technical, intensive, and potentially daunting if no expert help is on hand in case of emergency. It requires an enormous time commitment to be trained, and then use the equipment—most patients require four to five hours of dialysis treatment three to four times a week. Consequently, almost all Kimberley Indigenous patients suffering from renal failure are treated in Broome or another major centre further south.

Broome's dialysis centre consists of 10 chairs and services roughly 40 patients, with a one to two year waiting list. More than half of these patients are not Broome locals. There is a high prevalence of kidney disease in the Fitzroy Valley and Bidyadanga, and a trend is appearing of younger Indigenous people (in their 30s) starting to require dialysis. The result has been a permanent in-migration of Indigenous patients from these Kimberley communities to access dialysis treatment. This situation produces established social links between Broome and the home communities of these patients, and facilitates a consistent flow of kin between the locales. Family members will often follow their sick relative to Broome and 'keep company' (Coulehan 1995) with them. In some cases, related households have progressively established themselves in Broome. One interviewee spoke of six or seven such households, that had initially come to Broome and moved between relatives until more permanent accommodation options had become available. Some come only on a temporary basis to visit their sick relatives. For other relatives, the movement to Broome can be equally motivated by the convenience of having a place to stay in Broome while conducting other business (e.g. play or watch football, shop or drink).

Because renal patients receive priority housing from Homeswest, or are accommodated in specially allocated dialysis patient units, relatives assume they can be catered for when in Broome, and this can increase the frequency or duration of their visits. Interviewees recounted numerous stories of dialysis patients having their home environment stressfully disrupted—even to the point of eviction—because large groups of relatives had descended on them from other Kimberley communities and engaged in activities that clearly or publicly violated the terms of the lease. This is a common occurrence in Broome, and can have serious consequences for the health of the patient. Managing agencies have therefore instituted strict policies for monitoring housing occupancy, and the renal hostel will not allow visitors to stay with patients.

Though they are 'stuck' in Broome, dialysis patients often remain emotionally and socially connected to their home communities, and will travel back as often as possible for short periods, particularly if their children have remained in the community.

Indigenous people also come to Broome on a temporary basis specifically to access other health services. It is one of only three places in the Kimberley where women can have babies in a hospital or clinic.¹¹ There are short-term trips into Broome for appointments with specialists. Indigenous people also come from across the Kimberley to dry out at Milliya Rumurra, an Indigenous alcohol rehabilitation centre based in Broome. While there are other smaller alcohol rehabilitation services in Wyndham and Fitzroy Crossing, Milliya Rumurra has a large service population.

By contrast, few Indigenous people voluntarily present to the mental health service in Broome. This reluctance stems from the peripheral knowledge that, in the event that they are sectioned under the Mental Health Act, they will be sent to Graylands Psychiatric Hospital in Perth. Both the stigma attached to the possibility of such an intervention, and the remoteness of Perth from home communities, cause many Indigenous people to avoid the mental health service in Broome.

Justice

Interviewees described interaction with the mainstream justice system as another factor that structures Indigenous temporary mobility into Broome. While there are local courts held in Bidyadanga, Derby, and Fitzroy Crossing, it is not uncommon for Indigenous people from other Kimberley communities to be in Broome attending to court matters. While most offenders appearing in the Broome court are from Broome, Indigenous people who are convicted in other courts across the Kimberley come to Broome to serve their sentences at the regional prison. The prison's capacity is only 96, but its inmate population regularly exceeds this number. As at 1 October 2009, there were 150 adult inmates, including 142 men and eight women. The Indigenous proportion of the prison population, including all of the women, was 98.5 per cent (Western Australia Department of Corrective Services 2009). There is consequently a lot of temporary movement into Broome to visit incarcerated partners and relatives.

When people come to town to visit relatives in prison or attend to court matters, they sometimes stay for extended periods, particularly if they meet up with countrymen in town and feel more at home. Sometimes, partners of prisoners will also bring their children with them to Broome, but it's not uncommon that their children are sent back to their home communities if their carer becomes entangled in episodes of drinking or drug use. When prisoners are released from jail at the end of their sentence, they can be transported directly back to their home communities through the Transporting of Prisoners Program. This has reduced the incidence of re-offending before getting home. However, the program does not transport partners of relatives of prisoners, and they may find themselves 'stranded' in Broome once their loved one has been released.

Economy

There are a number of economic factors that also influence Indigenous temporary mobility practice through Broome, including the degree of Indigenous mainstream economic engagement, and the administration of income support regimes. While Broome has a vibrant and growing tourism economy, this does not directly translate into parallel mainstream economic inclusion and engagement amongst the Indigenous population. Though historically, Indigenous people were the backbone of the town's economic prosperity, today, many live at the margins of it.

Of a potential Indigenous labour force of 1,585 enumerated at the 2006 Census,¹² only 665 (42%) were employed. Those who were unemployed numbered 113, 702 were considered not in the labour force,¹³ and 106 individuals did not state their labour force status. Of those not in the labour force, 55 per cent

were between the ages of 25 and 54, and therefore unlikely to be retirees, school students or trainees. Some 300 of the 664 individuals who were employed were CDEP participants. Two research participants indicated that Centrelink income support programs absorbed about one-third of these individuals. Further investigation would be required to determine whether or not the remaining two-thirds have been absorbed into mainstream jobs. On the basis of the available data, however, it seems reasonable to conclude that in 2009, the income of the majority of Broome Indigenous residents was likely to have been derived primarily from some sort of Centrelink benefit.

At a most basic level, those receiving income support are less tied to any particular locale, as their benefits can be paid directly into their bank accounts and they have no work commitments that require them to remain permanently in any one place (Prout 2008a). It is noteworthy therefore that although the Indigenous employment rate in Broome (42%) is lower than that of the Kimberley overall (48.9%), it is those from outside the town in other parts of the region that seem to exercise this freedom more frequently.

Interviewees also described a process whereby temporary visitors become stranded in Broome, having used all of their financial means to travel. While some are able to return home upon the next fortnightly payment, others are bound to the town for longer periods while they pay off debts to friends and family who had loaned them money during their visit. This situation can also arise for Broome people who temporarily travel to other communities.

There are also some spatial and temporal limitations on the payment of welfare benefits. If a Newstart Centrelink client temporarily relocates to another town or community, they can only lodge their fortnightly claim forms to receive payment three times at their new location before they must change their address. If they fail to do so, their payments are suspended. Further, if their new address is in an area with lower employment prospects than the one from which they came, their Centrelink payments will be suspended for eight weeks. All towns and communities in the Kimberley are rated equally by these employment measures. Therefore, Newstart recipients can move freely within the region without fear of having their payments suspended. Individuals from larger regional centres (such as Geraldton) or cities (such as Perth), however, face potential payment suspensions if their visits are for longer than seven weeks.

One-off government or mining royalty payments can also engender significant movement into Broome for shopping and entertainment. For example, interviewees in One Arm Point explained that when the Rudd Government stimulus packages were released in early 2009, the community became a virtual ghost town overnight, as almost all residents sojourned to Broome. Kinnane et al. (2009) reported a similar occurrence in Fitzroy Crossing.

Overcrowding

Recent reports and surveys (Anthony 2007; Strain 2008; Western Australia Department of Indigenous Affairs 2008), as well as the findings from this study, paint a picture of Broome as a town bursting at the seams. The accommodation pressures and related overcrowding in Indigenous households both generate, and are exacerbated by, Indigenous temporary mobility through Broome.

According to the Western Australia Department of Housing, Broome has the highest level of demand for public housing with two or three bedrooms in Western Australia, outside of Perth and Geraldton, and only slightly less than Bunbury for housing with four or more bedrooms. There are currently 322 applications for public housing in Broome—which may represent up to three or four times as many people—and a seven-year wait to be housed in the most in-demand housing type (Western Australia Department of Housing 2009). Of course, these waiting lists are not an accurate indication of need either. For a

Table 8. Indigenous housing occupancy rates, 2006^a

Geography	Derived/actual ERP	2006 Census count of dwellings ^b	Estimated 2006 occupancy rate
Indigenous Broome (town)	3116	642	4.85
Non-Indigenous Broome (town)	7394	2393	3.08
Indigenous Kimberley	15141	2569	5.89
Non-Indigenous Kimberley	13503	4324	3.12
Notes: a. This table does not include those whose Indigenous status was not stated. b. This does not include the categories of 'caravan, cabin, houseboat', 'improvised home, tent sleepers out' since these are, respectively, defined within the literature as secondary and primary forms of homelessness. It also excludes the 'dwelling structure not stated' category.			
Source: ABS 2006 Census of Population and Housing and authors' own calculations.			

number of reasons they regularly exclude Indigenous peoples most in need (e.g. Birdsall-Jones & Corunna 2008; Prout 2008b). They are also a static snapshot of what is often a changing situation of need for Indigenous people.

There are complex and ongoing land-use planning negotiations involving the State Government, Shire, and local native title holders that affect the release of land for further development to alleviate these housing pressures. The recent influx of wealthy non-Indigenous residents to Broome has also squeezed many Indigenous families to the margins of a tight, and increasingly high-cost housing market (Taylor 2008). In addition, there are few targeted temporary accommodation options for Indigenous visitors to Broome, or those experiencing some form of homelessness.

These housing pressures, and lack of affordable temporary accommodation options for Indigenous visitors to Broome, mean that many who come to the town stay with family or friends. The resulting overcrowding was a dominant theme in fieldwork interviews. Participants regularly recounted stories of visiting three- or four-bedroom houses, in the course of their work, and finding 20 or more people staying at the residence. Recent reports into homelessness in Broome also found that 70 per cent (Anthony 2007) and 81 per cent (Strain 2008) of the homeless people identified (98 per cent of whom were Indigenous) were staying with friends or relatives.

A crude measure of overcrowding is housing occupancy rates derived as a measure of occupants per dwelling. The higher the rate, the greater the level of overcrowding. Table 8 shows that according to the 2006 Census, the occupancy rate for Indigenous people in Broome that year was significantly higher than the non-Indigenous population of both Broome and the Kimberley as a whole. It was, however, a little lower than Indigenous rates for the region as a whole, and is significantly lower than those derived by Taylor (2008) for smaller surrounding Indigenous communities on the Dampier Peninsula. These rates are a somewhat crude average, since they do not account for dwelling type and occupancy capacity. In a town the size of Broome, such averages also mask the extremes.

In her town survey, Strain (2008) found that Indigenous people living in Broome who came from elsewhere experienced far greater levels of overcrowding (5.8 and 2.4 people per bedroom respectively) than Indigenous people who identified as being from Broome (1.8 people per bedroom). It seems likely that at least in part, these higher levels of overcrowding for non-local households, are the product of those strong and enduring connections to other parts of the region in the form of regular visitors calling upon

them for temporary accommodation while in town. Host families often feel obligated to receive these guests, even though it may place them under significant pressure economically and may jeopardise their wellbeing and/or tenancy.

This overcrowding generates temporary mobility both within, and through, Broome. When crowded conditions in the home lead to internal conflict or external reprimand (e.g. warnings or eviction from property managers), visitors or residents may leave Broome to simply return home, alleviate the pressures, or allow the conflict to dissolve. They may also shift to other accommodation within the town. Interviewees noted a high degree of movement within the town, describing a process where visitors 'house-hop' from one relative to the next as necessary.

Many of the housing pressures discussed above are also linked in some way to the temporary movement of Indigenous peoples into Broome to access goods and services. To some degree, therefore, these housing pressures are exacerbated by the inadequate provision of support services for those who come to Broome to access other services.

Subverting the structures

Critically, in terms of service delivery, temporary mobility amongst Indigenous families can also be a method of avoiding outside interference or perceived surveillance, particularly from government agencies. Families can be hostile to, or fearful of, such intervention. Although only one participant discussed this in explicit terms, it was the reality at the heart of a number of interviewee observations. Families move to avoid potentially being separated by DCP orders. They move before Homeswest can take action against hosting tenants for having too many visitors at one time. They move to avoid pressure from schools about child non-attendance. Such movement reveals the alienated experiences of many Indigenous people within the mainstream service sector, and presents a fundamental challenge to service agencies that will not be easily, or expediently, resolved.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Given the complex and interweaving nature of Indigenous temporary mobility practices through Broome, what are the ways forward in delivering services to the town's mobile Indigenous service population? And what are the lessons for other regional service centres in Australia? Effective responses may need to be sector-specific (Prout 2008a). Given that education was the lens of analysis in the preceding case study, this section addresses these questions in relation to the education sector. A number of sector-specific strategies have been implemented in Broome, and others were imagined by interviewees in response to questions about potential 'best practice' models.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

In education, many of these imagined strategies centred on what Beresford and Gray (2006) have termed the 'community development' model of Indigenous education. Educators contended that getting to know the local Indigenous community, and establishing trust with local people, was an essential step in being able to negotiate what kinds of mobility can be accommodated within the formal school sector. They concluded that staff outreach—in the form of direct home visits, but also through the visible support of significant local events such as National Aboriginal and Islander Day Observance Committee Week activities—was fundamental to building relationships and having meaningful dialogues with Indigenous

parents about temporary mobility and its relationship to formal schooling. Many interviewees argued that such a dialogue needed to incorporate educational tools and evidenced-based research that helped parents understand the links between high student mobility and poor educational outcomes.

Such a process may seem a somewhat self-defeating endeavour if the families with whom such dialogues are necessary are constantly in and out of town. However, local educators indicated that relationships can be effectively built indirectly if the family members of those who are highly mobile are meaningfully engaged with the school. One school attendance officer explained that if you get to know the community, you can quickly assess who is in town, who is away, and which dynamics that are playing out in the community may impact student attendance.

The Kimberley District Education Office has developed two programs that closely relate to this model of community development. They have implications for how schools engage with Indigenous student transiency. These are discussed in the shaded boxes following.

The School-Based Attendance Officer Program

The School-Based Attendance Officer (SBAO) Program places an Indigenous attendance officer in each school throughout the Kimberley. In Broome, these appointments are full-time. In smaller communities they are generally part-time positions. The SBAO collects and analyses attendance data, assesses students who are at educational risk, and develops individual attendance plans. Most importantly though, the SBAO is the strategic point of contact between the school and the community of Indigenous parents and students. They undertake frequent home visits, build meaningful relationships with school families, and seek to sensitively convey the concerns and needs of both school and home representatives to each other. As a network of employees across the region, the SBAOs are also developing effective communication strategies with one another. These strategies provide advance notice of students' whereabouts between schools that—as one interviewee put it—'share families'.

Because the SBAOs are local Indigenous residents, they have knowledge of family structures, and local social dynamics and circumstances as they arise. They are therefore well equipped to follow up on the whereabouts of absent students, and what situations they're facing at home, and can communicate this sensitively to the school. SBAOs are also well versed in school culture and some of the barriers that Indigenous families can face in engaging with this culture. They are therefore strategically placed to both challenge the existing school culture where it alienates Indigenous families, and support parents who lack confidence in engaging with the school. This bridging role relieves a significant workload from both teachers and administrators in terms of tracking student movement and developing re-engagement strategies. However, one SBAO noted during an interview that there was the potential for her role to become the relegated community engagement role, effectively relieving other staff from needing to do so themselves. To negate this, she has tried to develop her role to facilitate direct contact between non-Indigenous staff and Indigenous families.

The emphasis on long-term support in these approaches is significant. A common theme of interviews for this study was that many positive education programs have failed, and are failing, to receive ongoing funding because results could not be clearly identified in unrealistically short-term time frames. The circumstances and considerations that lead to incompatibility between formal schooling and Indigenous student residency patterns are complex and entrenched, and require a commitment to focused and long-term engagement strategies. Short-term results, for any approaches, are unlikely.

The Community Capacity Building Program

The effectiveness of the SBAO in better engaging Indigenous families in the formal school system, and in adapting schools to changing student residency patterns, ultimately rests on the competence of the individual employed in the role. In recognition of this, and the important role played by Aboriginal and Islander Education Officers (AIEOs) in improving Indigenous education outcomes, the Kimberley District Education Office has also developed the Community Capacity Building Program. This program offers targeted professional development opportunities to Indigenous staff. AIEOs are usually the longest-serving staff members, and therefore hold the institutional memory of the school. This was the case in each of the schools that participated in this study. The Community Capacity Building Program seeks to equip these key staff members with an expanding skill set from which to build and manage meaningful relationships between the school and the community. This is a long-term project that requires sustained support to see improved outcomes for Indigenous students.

AIEO:

Aboriginal and
Islander Education
Officers

In order for these programs to have maximum impact, they must be implemented across education sectors. While the SBAO network has the potential to be highly effective in tracking and supporting mobile Indigenous students, it is currently incomplete. Of the 40 schools in the Kimberley, just under 50 per cent are Catholic or independent, and therefore not part of the SBAO network. When moving between locations, families and children do not discriminate on the basis of whether the local school belongs to one of these three sectors. In the absence of this formalised network, it can be much more difficult and time consuming to follow up, transfer records, or alert schools to new arrivals or departures. It is also difficult to build a comprehensive picture of any potential patterns in student movement within and beyond the region. The development of a cross-sectoral SBAO network could have positive implications for how schools in the region can respond to Indigenous temporary mobility practices.

RECEPTION CLASSES

In addition to these community development initiatives, a number of educators also proposed a type of reception class in schools for new students, or those who come and go regularly. For Indigenous students who are arriving from smaller communities to the larger Broome primary schools, the experience can be overwhelming and sometimes frightening, especially in the absence of close relatives at school. A reception class for these children would allow them to slowly acclimatise to their new school and its codes, in a non-threatening way. Such a reception class would ideally be staffed by an AIEO, who could engage the students in activities that connect their home places with their new school environment. One AIEO explained that making connections with these children in terms of family and relatedness, or engaging them by discussing what is familiar to them, is an important part of helping them feel safe in their new environment. She often asks new students about their home community environment—its rivers, land, bush foods and animals—as a means of helping them adjust to a new, often bigger and more intimidating school environment. From an administrative perspective, staffing such a class would be challenging. It would require a staff member to work on a stand-by basis with whoever arrives on any given day, and to have the flexibility and skill to tailor welcome and orientation programs according to their needs.

ADMINISTRATIVE BURDENS AND TENSIONS

While these initiatives and proposals have merit, the reality at the school site is often not conducive to the significant restructuring that would be required to better respond to the needs of highly mobile Indigenous students. Regional and remote schools are accountable across a broad range of performance indicators, and experience pressure to generate strong literacy and numeracy outcomes; to develop social and emotional wellbeing initiatives and attendance programs; and to invest in professional development

training and curriculum reform. Actioning these strategies, they explained, would attract more children to stay engaged with one school. With limited resources, however, schools face difficult choices about where to invest time and energy. Some educators described a balancing act of dividing focus between improving outcomes for those students who attend regularly, and developing outreach strategies for children who are disengaged from school. While they may know that re-engagement strategies are essential for working with highly mobile students, they feel under-resourced to carry them forward.

In addition to this burden of focus, schools also face an administrative tension regarding the extent to which their program delivery is simultaneously streamlined, and suitably organic and flexible. One of the strategies proposed by interviewees for managing Indigenous student transiency more effectively was to streamline literacy and numeracy programs across Kimberley schools to create consistency for students, no matter their location. Such an approach is being trialled amongst remote schools in the Kimberley, with each school using the same strategies, assessment, and recording formats for literacy programs. Records can be easily transferred between schools. The drawback of such an approach is that it allows less room for schools and teachers to creatively adapt their teaching program to address local needs and circumstances: in essence, to tailor the content in locally relevant ways. These are also, in many ways, oppositional approaches that undermine one another. The former seeks to support transient families by making transitions seamless. The latter seeks to reduce mobility by making place-based initiatives more appealing. One takes a regional approach to engaging with mobility, the other is rooted in discrete place-based approaches. Education departments and districts need to carefully consider which approach they wish to adopt, and then provide local schools with the sustained support they require to cultivate positive results.

CROSS-SECTORAL PLANNING AND COORDINATION

The education-specific engagement strategies discussed so far have merit and show potential for improving the compatibility between Indigenous student residency patterns and formal schooling processes. However, as previous sections have indicated, Indigenous temporary mobility practices do not often have singular and isolated causes and effects. Indeed, the factors that engender temporary Indigenous movement through Broome are more like a web of interweaving circumstances and processes. Further, the allocation of services, resources and infrastructure to regional centres such as Broome has significant implications for the demands on other support services. For example, the presence and growing demand for dialysis treatment services has resulted in a significantly increased need for accommodation services to support not only patients who have relocated to Broome for treatment, but also their family members who visit them.

As one interviewee suggested, perhaps the most effective way to improve sector-specific responses to mobility is through a more coordinated approach to government policy and service delivery generally. Though hub-and-spoke service delivery models clearly structure much movement into and through Broome, there is, at present, a lack of effective planning and coordination across sectors in relation to forecasting the impact of service structuring on Indigenous temporary mobility practices.

There are a number of new or planned changes to government policy and service delivery in Broome and the broader region that will impact Indigenous temporary movement through the town. These include:

- There are plans to build larger dialysis treatment centres in Derby and Kununurra so that people can receive treatment closer to home.
- The Broome Regional Hospital is receiving an upgrade that will facilitate a broader range of specialist services being located in the town.

- A 14-bed inpatient mental health facility is included in the Broome hospital upgrade. This will allow patients who suffer severe mental health episodes to remain in Broome, rather than being relocated to Graylands Hospital in Perth for treatment (Price & Considine 2008).
- The Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations is investing in a wider range of employment and training programs in Broome.
- The proposed gas hub at James Price Point will likely result in a substantive population increase, and potential job market, in the town.
- A new prison is being constructed in Derby. It is scheduled for completion in 2011 and will house 150 inmates.
- The phasing out of CDEP in the communities surrounding Broome, and 'normalisation' of other service delivery practices (e.g. housing management) will result in diminished job opportunities in these communities.¹⁴
- The Council of Australian Governments National Partnership Agreement on Remote Service Delivery will focus on investing and better coordinating services in Beagle Bay, One Arm Point, Fitzroy Crossing and Halls Creek.

Each of these developments will likely affect the frequency, scale, volume and direction of Indigenous temporary mobility in the region. Investing in health and correctional services at other locations may divert some of the population flows to those places. Conversely, welfare reforms in some communities as well as increased capital investment for education, training and health services in Broome may facilitate more temporary movement into the town. With each of these investments and divestments, policy makers must understand the causal role of their service delivery practices in engendering and shaping the direction and flows of Indigenous temporary mobility practices—population dynamics that service providers often find challenging to accommodate—and plan accordingly for this movement. A more proactive and coordinated approach to understanding, and addressing, the needs of Indigenous service populations is required.

To overcome short-sighted and 'siloed' initiatives that overlook potential demographic consequences, or that simply relocate problems, interviewees advocated more cross-sectoral coordination through avenues such as monthly interagency meetings. These meetings, they suggested, should intentionally include Indigenous representatives from government agencies, as well as employees of Indigenous organisations and other resource agencies in the town. A specific objective of such meetings would be to pool knowledge about what activities, services or events might currently, or in the future, draw Indigenous people temporarily to Broome, and how agencies can work together to best meet the needs of these visitors. Sometimes individual agencies know about movements because they are directly facilitating them (as in the case of DCP orders).

Some educators felt that these interagency dialogues would be the most effective way to build an awareness of Indigenous children who may be in Broome, but not engaging with the school system. Others also indicated that a strategic approach to engaging with these families was important. If, for example, multiple support agencies in Broome pressured visiting families to enrol their children in school—even if it was for a short period—parents were more likely to 'bolt' and/or disengage from all service providers. One interviewee had observed this process unfolding first-hand. Too much humbug from various government agencies had led to further alienation from the mainstream service sector. She advocated a more collaborative approach, where the SBAOs assume the more direct role of encouraging student attendance, while other agencies provide related, but more indirect, support to remove barriers that may be contributing to non-attendance.

CONCLUSION

The nature of hub-and-spoke service delivery models clearly has a structuring effect on Indigenous mobility practices. Regional service centres like Broome have become especially significant in Indigenous mobility circuits as recipients of temporary visitors who desire, or require access to, specialist services or retail and recreational facilities, but whose primary connections lie elsewhere in smaller locations. They are also often home to a substantial local Indigenous population whose historical and emerging links to surrounding kin and country generate considerable through-movement of visiting family. Regional towns are, in essence, a gateway for the more sparsely populated hinterland and desert regions of the continent. They consequently often service a population far greater than 'usual resident' counts can reflect. To effectively allocate resources and deliver services, there is, therefore, an imperative to define the catchment areas of regional centres and develop options for measuring the scale and composition of Indigenous temporary population flows associated with them.

This study has drawn on interviews with key local service providers, and combined these with an innovative analysis of administrative data sources, to develop a clearer picture of these dynamics through Broome. It focused on experience in the formal school sector as a window into the relationship between temporary mobility and service delivery in the town.

The schools analysis was indicative of three broader dynamics at play in Broome with regard to service delivery and Indigenous temporary mobility. First, the data supported the existing discourses about temporary mobility, which suggest that only a small proportion of local people are highly mobile. Most of the movement through Broome was the product of non-residents coming in and out for short and lengthy periods of time. This relates to the second dynamic that the schools analysis reflected: not all of this movement is statistically captured by the various services in town, because much of it is invisible to them. As the opening story illustrated, some Indigenous people who visit Broome for temporary periods intentionally, or serendipitously, avoid contact with mainstream service providers. The analysis of administrative education data, for example, could say nothing about the size of the Indigenous school-aged population who come in and out of Broome, but never through the school gate. This presents a challenge for schools and other service providers in planning for the potential needs of such visitors.

Finally, the education analysis exemplified a broader trend in mainstream services, whereby administrative data are not collected in such a way as to make the potential dynamics of Indigenous mobility legible to them for planning purposes. Education policy continues to be built upon the assumption that school populations are relatively static. However, as the analysis demonstrated, the reality for Indigenous students in Broome, and particularly the smaller community schools elsewhere in the Shire, is profoundly different. While school data indicated that only a small proportion of local students were highly mobile, their absences often had a significant impact on school attendance outcomes. Current performance reporting frameworks do not allow for distinction between non-attendance that is the product of transiency and that which is the product of other home- and school-based factors. This is despite the fact that the two forms of non-attendance require radically different responses. Reporting frameworks also fail to consider student turnover through schools, which has implications not only for how resources are allocated to them, but also for their capacity to confidently and accurately measure and track student performance outcomes.

This analysis has demonstrated that administrative data can be used more effectively to begin to draw out the realities of Indigenous temporary mobilities through regional centres. If analyses of administrative education data and sober-up shelter data, for example, were extended to other regional centres and service hinterlands, some important statements about Indigenous student temporary mobility at various spatial scales could be made. It would be possible to build a more comprehensive picture of the frequency, duration, direction and scale of temporary movement of Indigenous service populations. This could lead to important policy reforms. With regard to education for example, in areas where high student mobility or turnover is demonstrable, a radical re-think of the way education is delivered to Indigenous students may be warranted. Alternately, additional administrative support may be justified to allow schools to better follow up students and support them through transitions between schools. Ultimately, this is one example of using data more strategically to illuminate demographic practices that are often statistically invisible, and therefore rarely considered in policy formation. They remain, nonetheless, integral to effective service delivery and improved outcomes for Indigenous Australians in regional centres.

NOTES

1. The 2006 Shire of Broome ERPs were pro-rated to derive ERPs for the town of Broome.
2. These figures are calculated by multiplying the derived 2006 ERP for the town of Broome by Biddle and Taylor's (2009) pro-rated projected growth rates (taking migration into account) for the Broome Local Government Area.
3. The Yawuru people have been legally recognised as the native title holders in the Broome area. However, care is taken throughout this paper not to conflate the concepts of 'Yawuru' and 'Broome Indigenous population', since no interviewees did. Almost universally, the 'Broome Indigenous population' included, for interviewees, a broader group of Indigenous peoples than just Yawuru, though most were reluctant to specify who might additionally and legitimately be considered Broome locals. For a more detailed discussion of the local Indigenous groupings see Glowczewski (1998), Irving (2002) and Sullivan (1997).
4. Indigenous camps in Broome became more defined as the township grew, as a means of trying to contain and control the Indigenous population (Jackson 1996a, 1996b, 1997).
5. The 'Hill' is a reference to Kennedy Hill, an Indigenous reserve in Broome that is a significant site for Yawuru people and has been the centre of fierce land-use planning conflicts in the town for several decades.
6. Another Indigenous reserve within Broome.
7. The State system employs attendance outcomes as a key measure of school performance. Unlike the Catholic system, it therefore places strict and standardised reporting requirements on schools regarding attendance, and this process directly influences reported attendance outcomes.
8. See Henry and Smith (2002) for a comparative discussion in Kuranda, Queensland.
9. Each client is counted only once per month by their number of admission. Each month, however, is treated independently for enumeration purposes. It is therefore possible that the total number of clients includes double-counted (across months) clients.
10. At the time of map development, data for June 2009 were not yet available. They are not included in the graphic.
11. The other two are Derby and Kununurra.
12. This includes all individuals over the age of 15 enumerated in the census. The original count is used as the baseline here, rather than the estimated resident population (ERP), because the former is linked to individual characteristics while the latter is simply an adjusted total count.
13. This includes unpaid workers in the home, students, trainees, those in prison, retirees, those permanently unable to work, and those who are voluntarily inactive.
14. As of 1 July 2009, every CDEP participant had to be linked to a job network provider. If they missed more than two weeks of work, they were disqualified from the CDEP scheme and no new people could be added on. The current proposal indicates that CDEP will be phased out of remote communities altogether in July 2011.

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